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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



**Socio-cultural change in two prestigious secondary schools in South
Africa: a sociophonetic study of black and white females**

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award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics

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This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a sociophonetic investigation of language use in the South African context. Language usage, especially that pertaining to English, is a complex issue in South Africa. The hegemony of English continues to inform the choices made by many people. With changing class structures developing within the South African context since 1994, the influence and hegemony of English is gaining momentum and is being perpetuated by members of the emerging black middle-class.

The aim of this study is to investigate socio-cultural change in two prestigious school environments. It considers how female isiXhosa mother tongue speakers, who attend prestigious English schools, are undergoing changes in identity, which are mirrored in the accent of the prestigious variety of English they speak. For this study, 'prestigious' is used as a cover term for private and ex model-C schools, no longer reserved for white people. The study aims to show how these changes are determined, in large part, by social class, and how current descriptions of Black South African English do not account for the variety spoken by these young black elites.

The study adopts a pragmatist position in the methodology of the research, with the adoption of a 'mixed methods' approach. This allows for both qualitative (analysis of attitudes) and quantitative (sociophonetic analysis of accent) data to be analysed collaboratively, highlighting the interconnectedness and interdependent relationship between them. The data used in the study were collected at two prestigious girls' secondary schools in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape. Data includes 24 sociolinguistic interviews with 12 white English mother tongue speakers, and 12 black isiXhosa mother tongue speakers, aged between 16-18 years.

The findings suggest that changes in identity construction are evident in young female isiXhosa speakers. Changes in social class have increased opportunities to attend prestigious English schools, where speech accommodation and cultural assimilation is evident. The result of this is the acquisition of a prestigious English variety. Middle-class isiXhosa mother tongue speakers are now proficient in both English and isiXhosa. They value both these languages, and both languages are used dynamically, interchangeable and strategically, to construct and maintain multiple identity positions used to access a variety of domains. Phonetic analysis shows that the prestigious variety of English used by these speakers cannot be accounted for in either descriptions of White South African English or Black South African English. This suggests that the variety spoken by these elites should be described in terms of social class, as opposed to existing descriptions based on race.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

MT – Mother tongue

MOI – Medium of instruction

CAT – Communication Accommodation Theory

SAE – South African English

WSAE – White South African English

BSAE – Black South African English

NORM – NORM: The Vowel Normalization and Plotting Suite

IPA – International Phonetic Alphabet

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation presents and discusses the findings of a sociolinguistic study set in two prestigious girls' secondary schools in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, South Africa. More specifically, it is a sociophonetic study, focussing on the changing accents of young female members of a newly emerging black middle-class. These members typically attend former white-only schools, are highly proficient in English, and use both English and their mother tongue (hereafter, MT) in complex and strategic ways.

1.2 Background to study

❖ South African context

Since the demise of apartheid in 1994, South African society, once characterised by segregation and subordination, is now in transition. The introduction of a democratic political system, as well as the development of key economic incentives, has achieved major changes and social reconstruction. Socio-economic and educational inequalities, based on a person's racial category, a characteristic which came to define the apartheid government, exist no more. Consequently, South Africa is currently in a period of transition, of renewal, and is experiencing major shifts in the social fabric of its society. However, socio-economic and educational opportunities, despite no longer being defined by race, are still inaccessible to many people. Social class, particularly the restructuring of social class in a post-apartheid society, is playing an increasingly influential role in the separation of the 'haves' from the 'have-nots'. Increasingly documented, too, is how language is becoming a marker of social class, and is seen as one of the vehicles driving this social separation. In the South African context, this language is English.

South Africa is a unique context to consider, given the richness of our language diversity. South African has eleven official languages, namely isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Sepedi, Setswana, English, Sesotho, Xistonga, Siswati, Tshivenda and isiNdebele (Census 2001:5). Despite the fact that English is only a MT language to 8.2% of the population, it is the dominant language socio-economically, politically and educationally (Census 2001:5). It is for this reason why there is a need among many black people in South Africa to speak English. However, in relation to the numbers of MT English speakers to the other languages, it is clear that contact with this group is limited to only a few

members of the other language groups. This is important to recognise, as language, and specifically the knowledge of English in the South African context, could be seen as reflective of one's access to socio-economic mobility, as with increased wealth comes access to English.

Since the induction of the new democratic government in 1994, economic opportunities have increased (Mesthrie 2010). These opportunities have resulted in major socio-economic shifts in the makeup of South African social class structure. As a result, a new black middle-class is emerging (De Klerk 2000a; Fiske & Ladd 2004a; Soudien 2004; Mesthrie 2010). This new elite group is now able to enjoy opportunities once restricted during the apartheid regime, due to racism. One outcome of this change in class is the desegregation of former white-only suburbs in urban areas. This is evident in the trend which has developed, for the more affluent members of the black middle-class to move to these areas, as this is where the best schools tend to be situated, and where their vocation peers reside (Fiske & Ladd 2004a). This desegregation in geographical area, together with the social integration it allows, is contributing to the broader deracialisation of South African society, at least among the middle-class.

Associated with changing class structure is education, and more specifically, the choice of an education in English by members of the black middle-class. Research has shown that since 1994, there has been a steady trend towards English schooling at former white-only English schools (De Klerk 2000a,b). De Klerk (2000b) documents how these social class changes and education choices are having effects on language use and proficiency, which is mirrored in a breakdown of social cohesion among many black communities. The reason for this can be explained in light of opportunities available to people. During apartheid, black people were largely excluded and prevented from any form of socio-economic mobility, often associated with a good education. While this policy has changed in the new South Africa, exclusion remains a reality for some. The social distance then, between the new post-apartheid black elites and their township peers, is created by economic factors, resulting from differential education and access to economic opportunities, and is often mirrored in language use.

❖ **Role of sociolinguistics in South Africa**

The social changes present in South Africa today make for a complex and rich research context, especially for sociolinguistic study. Henderson (1997:113) comments that, '[i]n searching for the history of segregation, of apartheid, the struggle against apartheid and for a new South Africa, the

evolution of language itself is of tremendous significance'. Studying language, in terms of its use, shifts in use, and MT loyalty, can trace and document social change, as it is through language that a person asserts a particular identity and negotiates social spaces and relationships.

❖ Context of study

This study takes place in the Eastern Cape, and more specifically, in Grahamstown, which falls in the Cadadu District Municipality area (Provincial Profile 2004:22). The Eastern Cape consists of 14.4% of South Africa's total population, of which 86% is made up of black¹ Africans (Provincial Profile 2004:15). As can be seen in the profile of the Eastern Cape (Appendix A), education levels among black people, as compared to the minority white group, are significantly low. The disparity between the statistics indicating Grade 12 accomplishment is great, with only 11.5% of black people reaching this level, unlike 40.9% of white people who obtain this level of education (Provincial Profile 2004:70). Considering that the black African population makes up 86% of the Eastern Cape, it is suffice to say that education levels are low in this province. This is a reality which is necessary to consider when investigating language use and access to English. English proficiency is often attributed to a 'good' education acquired in an English school, where contact with English MT speakers is abundant. It is clear, due to the statistics indicating poor educational levels, as well as language group numbers, that the reality of experiencing this contact is limited to a select few. This issue is relevant to this study, and is addressed in the investigation of the extent to which social class determines this selection.

Language contact is an important consideration in this study. The Cadadu region of the Eastern Cape is dominated by isiXhosa MT speakers, who make up 48.9% of the total population. This is in stark contrast to English MT speakers, who make up only 5.4% of the region (Provincial Profile 2004:34). As with the broader Eastern Cape language profile, this means that contact will be severely limited. Due to the demographic profile of the Cadadu region, and the Eastern Cape in general, this study has specifically been located in Grahamstown, and has, as its aim, to investigate socio-cultural change experienced by black isiXhosa MT speakers who attend English schools.

The research was conducted at two prestigious secondary schools in Grahamstown. The label 'prestigious' has been used as a cover term to refer to both a private and ex-model-C² school. While the two chosen schools are vastly different in terms of fee structure (see Table B.3, Appendix B),

¹ For the purposes of this profile, 'black' refers to all black South Africans in the narrow sense, i.e. excluding Indian and so-called coloured people.

² To avoid ambiguity, 'ex-model-C' will be referred to as 'model-C' henceforth.

both schools fall within the top fee category (>R2000 pa) for secondary schools in the Eastern Cape where the median for schools is between R51 and R100 per annum (Fiske & Ladd 2004b:61). Due to this high fee structure it is suffice to say that the students who attend these schools are members of the middle-class. This claim is further supported in light of the participants' parent's occupations (see financial profile, Appendix B).

Both schools are single sex girls' schools, catering for learners from Grade 1 through to Grade 12. School A is a private girls' school, founded in 1874. School B is a model-C state school, founded in 1896. Both schools employ English as the medium of instruction (hereafter MOI), and have done so since their establishment. Both School A and School B have boarding facilities³. School A characterises itself as a boarding school, with 80% of its student body being boarders. The majority of students at School B are daygirls, with only a small minority making use of the boarding facilities. While the schools differ vastly in demographics, they both have a Western ethos. The school demographics can be seen in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. For the purposes of this research, the term 'black' is used as a neutral racial marker, for comparative purposes, and excludes all Indian and so-called coloured people. It is not intended to be racially offensive.

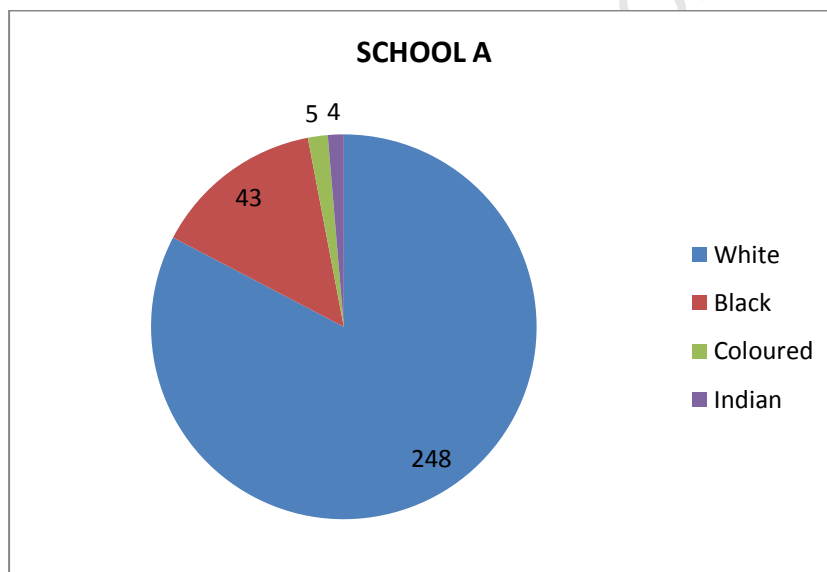


FIGURE 1.1: Racial demographic profile, School A

³ This refers to schools that provide residential accommodation to students during term time. Typically, these facilities are positioned on the school campus and have staff members who act as authoritative 'mother' figures.

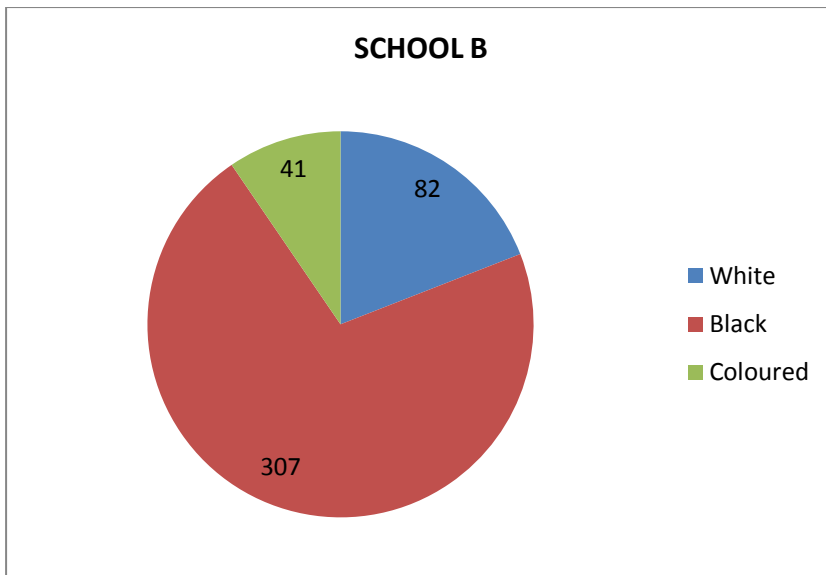


FIGURE 1.2: Racial demographic profile, School B

School B is characterised by a local student body, drawing on the Grahamstown community and surrounding towns. This is unlike School A, which draws students from a range of places within, and outside of South Africa. Due to this, the black student group has been further divided into isiXhosa MT speakers and non-isiXhosa MT speakers. This is graphically illustrated in Figure 1.3 and 1.4.

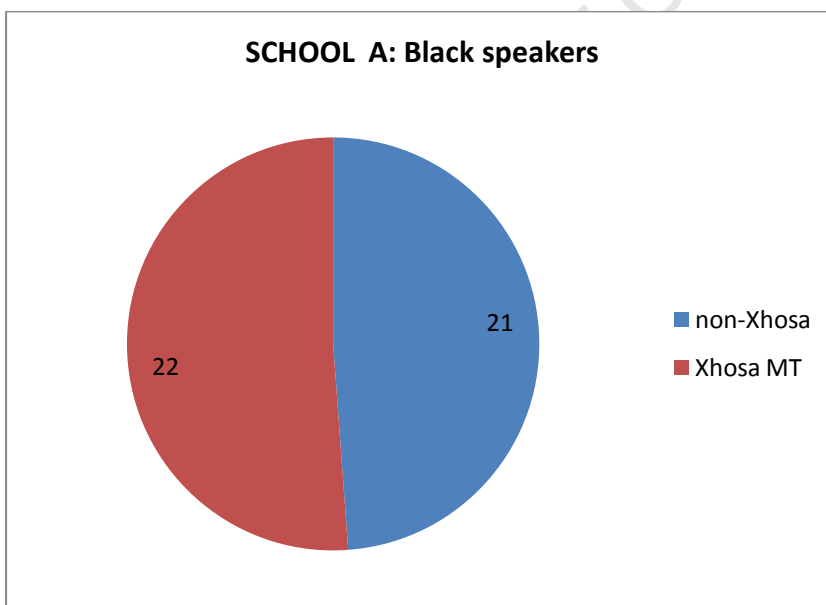


FIGURE 1.3: Language demographic profile of black students, School A

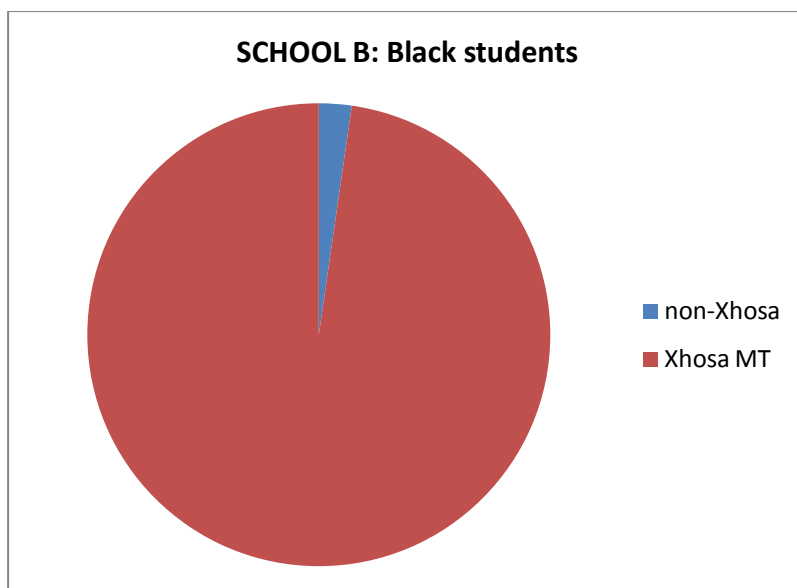


FIGURE 1.4: Language demographic profile of black students, School B

For the purposes of this study, only black isiXhosa MT speakers are considered, in relation to their white English MT peer group.

1.3 Research goals

The research consists of two parts:

- ❖ Phase One (2009): A case study investigating isiXhosa MT speakers' attitudes to changing patterns of bilingualism (with a dominance in English) in two prestigious secondary schools. This phase investigated how language shift to English and attitudes to language in general affected the identity construction of young female isiXhosa MT speakers.
- ❖ Phase Two (2011): A sociophonetic analysis of 24 speakers' accent, in terms of three vowel variables. This phase considers accent in relation to social class and investigates, with a view to understanding, how attitudes and identity are mirrored in accent.

1.4 Research methodology

This study adopts a mixed methods research methodology, characterised by the inclusion and collaborative use of both qualitative and quantitative data. Consistent with the two phases of the research, the methodology is divided into two parts:

1.4.1 Phase One (2009)

The data gathered in the case study were analysed according to four categories: language in the home; language at school; language and culture, and language in the future. Sociolinguistic interviews with 12 isiXhosa MT speakers aimed to elicit attitudes to language shift to English. The emergent attitudes from each category were considered in terms of identity construction. The findings from each school were compared and contrasted, and patterns and anomalies were considered in light of the demographics of each school.

1.4.2 Phase Two (2011)

Data gathered in the sociolinguistic interviews in Phase One of the research, as well as data gathered from an additional 12 sociolinguistic interviews with white English MT speakers, were used in a sociophonetic analysis. The GOOSE, TRAP and DRESS (IPA /æ e u:/ respectively) vowels of all 24 participants were analysed using the acoustic programme Praat. The raw scores were then normalised and compared. The data were analysed statistically, to highlight any statistical significance in the findings. The statistical findings were compared in terms of schools (School A versus School B) and language groups (isiXhosa MT speakers versus English MT speakers), and a combination of the two (School A isiXhosa MT speakers versus School B isiXhosa MT speakers; and School A English MT speakers versus School B English MT speakers).

1.5 Significance of study

This study is significant for a number of reasons. First, unlike many studies that focus on either one or the other perspective, this study takes a relational view. It sheds light on how qualitative and quantitative perspectives are interrelated and interconnected, and how when viewed together they provide richer insights than may have been gleaned when working with a single perspective. Second, this study, in taking place as it has, some 16 years after the demise of apartheid, includes participants who enjoyed a relatively stable educational experience. The participants in this study, born either in 1994 or after, do not have a lived-experience of apartheid. Their identity may not have been shaped in the same way, or to the same extent as that of their parents, who lived through apartheid first hand, by racial difference (Nekhweva 1999). Third, this study uses female participants between the ages of 16-18 years. This was done primarily to limit the number of variables in a mini-research project. But, the focus is on females rather than males because they form a significant

group for phonetic change, especially change to more prestigious varieties, as this is considered to be initiated and led by young females (see for example, Labov 1972; Lass 1995; Mesthrie 2010). If accent change is taking place in South Africa among black isiXhosa speakers, it should, in theory, be evident in this sample group. Conversely, the findings of this study should test those of the largely Western-based studies in sociophonetics. Lastly, this study sheds light on how social class is a more powerful influence than race or linguistic group on young middle-class South Africans' identity at the present time. The findings of this study, albeit a small one, may nevertheless provide insights which will engender an understanding socio-cultural change in prestigious school environments.

1.6 Limitations of study

A perceived limitation of this study is that it is a case study. It examines data collected from 24 participants in two schools. While this data sample is small, the size of the sample has allowed for rich data to be collected via intensive interviews of each individual. Due to this small sample the findings presented in this study cannot be generalised, to say males or young people in other provinces. However, they do provide rich insights, and shed light on interesting avenues for further research.

1.7 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter I provide a review of literature relevant to this study. The review is divided into two sections: qualitative perspectives and quantitative perspectives. The former considers the prestige of English in the South African context, social class, the social implications of accent, and the construction of identity. The latter discusses the phonetic features of the GOOSE, TRAP and DRESS vowel in White South African English and Black South African English varieties.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter describes and justifies the research orientation and methods used in this study. It begins with an outline of the research goals, followed by an explanation of the research orientation and mixed methods approach that was adopted. The two-phase research design is explained, and

the research site and participants are described. The collection, analysis and interpretation of data are discussed. Ethical issues are addressed.

Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It comprises of two parts: qualitative findings and quantitative findings. The qualitative findings are divided into four sections: language in the home, language at school, language and culture, and language in the future. The section ends with a synthesis of the findings. The qualitative findings are divided into four sections: normalisation, an analysis of the GOOSE vowel, an analysis of the TRAP vowel, and lastly, an analysis of the DRESS vowel. The analysis of the GOOSE vowel is divided into three phonetic environments, namely coronals (GOOSEc), non-coronals (GOOSEnc) and j-words⁴ (GOOSEj). This section ends with a synthesis of the quantitative findings.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter discusses the findings of the research, in relation to the theoretical perspectives reviewed in Chapter Two. It presents a collaborative discussion of both the qualitative and quantitative findings, highlighting the interconnected and interdependent nature of their relationship, and how change in one is mirrored in the other. The discussion facilitates an understanding of socio-cultural change occurring in two prestigious secondary schools in Grahamstown, and opens up avenues for future research.

⁴ This is Mesthrie's mnemonic for words in which [u:] is preceded by /j/, for example, 'you' (Mesthrie 2010).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This study investigates, with a view to understanding, socio-cultural change in two prestigious secondary school environments. To do so, it focuses on two different, but interconnected linguistic phenomena: first, language attitudes, in relation to both changes in language use and the construction of identity; and second, how these changes in attitude affect accent. The chapter focuses on a review of literature pertinent to the following perspectives:

- ❖ **Qualitative perspectives**, including the prestige of English in South Africa, social class, social implications of accent, and identity construction
- ❖ **Quantitative perspectives**, pertaining to descriptions of South African English.

2.2 Qualitative perspectives

A review of the literature on the use of English in South Africa reveals four main themes that are relevant to this study. These are: the prestige of English in the South African context; social class; the acquisition of a particular accent; and the construction of identity. For ease of discussion, each theme is dealt with separately, however, it is important to view them holistically.

2.2.1 The prestige of English in the South African context

The discussion on the prestige of English draws on the theoretical framework for bilingualism provided by Myers-Scotton (2002). This framework enables the motivations, enablers and effects of bilingualism involving English to be dealt with in turn, but leaves the interconnectedness and inter-dependent relationship between each theme intact. Myers-Scotton (2002:37-48) outlines three main motivations for bilingualism, namely socio-economic mobility, social aspirations, the role of education, and one consequence of bilingualism, namely a potential language shift.

For the purposes of this study, bilingualism, as a linguistic phenomenon, is only considered in terms of its social implications. Broadly speaking, bilingualism refers to the ability of a speaker to speak two or more different languages. While this is not an uncommon phenomenon in a linguistically diverse country such as South Africa, it is worthwhile to consider the motivations behind the appeal of bilingualism.

❖ Socio-economic class mobility

Myers-Scotton (2002:37) contends that an influential motivation behind bilingualism is that 'chances for socioeconomic mobility almost always require proficiency in the dominant group's language, and attempts at communication outside one's own language group normally take place in the dominant group's language'. This motivation illustrates the importance of a socio-economically dominant language. The significance of socio-economic mobility in South Africa, in relation to English, will now be discussed.

The existence of English as a hegemonic language in South Africa is well documented (see for example, De Klerk 1999, 2000a, 2000b; Kamwangamalu 2002; Mesthrie 2006; Bangeni & Kapp 2007; Makubalo 2007; McKinney 2009). Given the goals of this research, it is necessary to understand the broader socio-political South African context.

Since the arrival of the English in the Cape in 1806 (Lanham 1982:324), English has been the language of socio-economic dominance. According to De Klerk (1999:311):

English was desirable to the local people not so much because of the intrinsic appeal and aesthetic qualities of the language, but because of the military, economic and cultural power of its speakers- they learned English not because they could not resist the attraction of its lilting accents, but because the people thrusting muzzles of guns in their faces, or employing labour at their lucrative gold and diamond mines refused to oblige by learning their languages.

This description illustrates how English was not voluntarily established as the language of dominance, but was rather enforced in such a manner. The implementation of apartheid in 1948 further strengthened this socio-economic dominance, when domination became enforced nationally, through the apartheid political system, and its restrictive educational and residential policies.

The apartheid government introduced, among other discriminatory legislation, the Groups Areas Act (1950) and the Bantu Education Act (1953). The induction of these two laws had ripple effects on society in South Africa, especially in terms of language. The Group Areas Act segregated different racial groups into separate living areas. This meant that residentially, non-English MT speakers were forcibly prohibited from contact with white English MT speakers. For this reason, contact with MT English was limited to the work place, where interaction was kept minimal. The Bantu Education Act had profound effects on the lives of black people in South Africa. This Act ensured that black people were never given the educational opportunities and advantages that white people were given.

According to Verwoerd (1954), the Minister of Education who implemented Bantu Education, education prior to Bantu Education 'drew him [the black person] away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze' (as quoted in Nekhwevha 1999:494). This epitomizes the educational vision of Bantu Education, and shows how education for black people was set at an inferior and subordinate level to that of white education.

One of the major features of Bantu Education, which ultimately led to the Soweto uprising in 1976, was the implementation of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in all state controlled black schools. This acted as a further obstacle for black people, as without access to English at school, together with a substandard education in general, black people were systematically prohibited access to economic gain and any social mobility this might generate. This, according to De Klerk (1999:312), made English 'all the more desirable' and 'seen by many as the magic key to socio-economic advancement and power'. Ironically, unlike Afrikaans, which many people equated with apartheid, symbolising oppression and discrimination (Kamwangamalu 2002:2), the fact that English was used in the anti-apartheid movement, it has since become associated with unity and liberation in the South Africa context today (Mesthrie 2006:151). After the abolition of Bantu Education, many black people considered English to be the way forward, equating it with educational success.

❖ Social aspirations

According to Myers-Scotton (2002:38), a second motivation for bilingualism, is that 'exposure to outside lifestyles causes individuals and entire groups to change their interpretations of their own world'. This motivation is relevant to understanding how in a South African context, English has gained the status as the language of socio-economic mobility. Because of the status it has acquired, people's social aspirations have become embedded in the notion of English. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), it is natural for the exposure to a life beyond the socio-economic standing of a person to result in that person's desire for upward socio-economic mobility.

English in South Africa is not only a language, but is also representative of something bigger-globalisation. De Klerk (2000a:95) notes how school students perceive English as an 'international language'. English is seen as having the potential to open up a world of opportunity that was, for political reasons in the past, inaccessible to people of colour. For this reason, many non-English MT speakers want to learn English. Learning a language like English, which is growing in prestige around

the world, allows one access to global domains. Thus the hegemony of English and the social aspirations which it has come to represent go beyond the realm of South Africa, as Pennycook (1994:13) explains:

...its [English] widespread use threatens other languages; it has become the language of power and prestige in many countries, thus acting as a crucial gatekeeper to social and economic progress; its use in particular domains, especially professional, may exacerbate different power relationships and may render these domains more inaccessible to many people; its position in the world gives it a role also as an international gatekeeper, regulating the international flow of people; it is closely linked to national and increasingly non-national forms of culture and knowledge that are dominant in the world...

The concept of 'gatekeeper', as explained above, is important to consider. This is a powerful phenomenon, as gatekeepers permit access to certain domains, whilst keeping others inaccessible. This is a strong motivation to learn English, and one which extends itself beyond the national borders of South Africa. While increased access to other African countries, as a result of globalisation, may increase a loyalty to African languages, learning English can (potentially) allow access to a globalised international world. The latter is playing a powerful role in shaping attitudes towards language, constructions of identity and social aspirations of many South Africans, especially the youth. This is discussed in the findings of this study, in Chapter Five.

❖ The role of education

Myers-Scotton's (2002) third motivation for bilingualism is the role of education in furthering the prestigious nature of English. She cautions that 'bilingualism may be envied, but it may be frowned upon too' (Myers-Scotton 2002:40). In communities with a hierarchical structure, it has typically been the educated classes who become bilingual in varieties associated with whatever the society values. Armed with this commodity, they can practice 'elite disclosure' and whatever they do, they form an envied and privileged class based partly on their bilingualism (Myers-Scotton 2002:40).

Education in South Africa is seen as a major contributor to the growing hegemonic status of English. In a transitional society such as that of South Africa, where there have been many social pressures, the social fabric is once again being tested by the practice Myers-Scotton refers to as 'elite disclosure'. With a changing social dynamic since the abolition of apartheid, inequalities today are gradually being patterned increasingly according to one's education, which is directly associated with social class, rather to that of race, as in the past. Writing about the South African context, De Klerk (1999:322) makes a similar observation:

The power and elitism of the privileged few who have mastered Standard English will probably be enhanced and entrenched in the decades to come, while the masses will find themselves unable to improve their own English, even if they wanted to, owing to the current massive national decline in educational infrastructure.

More recently, McLaughlin (2006:118) explains:

A language situation has evolved in the 'new' South Africa that tragically mirrors the equilibrium in the 'old' South Africa in that language barriers are permitted to consolidate power among a well-defined (and perhaps even well-intentioned) elite group while simultaneously restricting the ability on non-elites to access and challenge it.

The significance of the role played by education, especially formal schooling, in post-apartheid South Africa is relevant to this study.

De Klerk (1999:319) observes that 'since the opening of all schools to all races in 1994, there has been an unprecedented rush to English-medium state schools'. This move can be accounted for by the lack of trust in non-English schools, and indeed a suspicion towards MT education, stemming from Bantu Education during apartheid (Reagan 2009). English schools are often considered as providing a better educational standard than non-English schools. This attitude is described in the findings of a study undertaken by Dalvit and De Klerk (2005:6) in the Eastern Cape:

Students seemed to value the resources English gives access to. The respondents acknowledged the dominant role of English in education in South Africa and most of them subscribed to the belief that English-medium schooling was of a better quality.

While many parents, and indeed students themselves, see the socio-economic advantages English has to offer, the now desegregated schools, although advocating a multilingual and multicultural composition, maintain a Western and white ethos (De Klerk 2000b:202). This notion is enhanced by the fact that many of the existing educators firmly believe 'that educational success is only possible through mastery of English, which is seen as giving access to social and educational mobility and advancement to native and non-native users who possess it as a linguistic tool' (De Klerk 2000b:202). It is this Western ethos and evaluation of English that is causing a language shift in South Africa- a shift away from indigenous African languages to that of English.

❖ **Language shift as a consequence of bilingualism**

According to Myers-Scotton (2002:48) one consequence of bilingualism is language shift. She asserts:

Most students of shift agree that the future of a language depends on the number of people using it, the existence of a community of speakers, and the domains which a language is used... that is, there is no question that the language used in status-rising domains will

certainly be maintained. Further, because economic, or at least instrumental, motives determine much language use, the language of such domains may well expand into other domains.

A similar point was raised by De Klerk (2000a:88) who contends that shifts in language will occur when the MT is different from the economically-dominant language. She provides evidence of a language shift occurring in the Grahamstown region of the Eastern Cape in South Africa, due to black students attending English schools. This confirms a similar finding of De Klerk's (1999:319), namely that when black students attend English schools, the result is a loss in loyalty to their MT, and low levels of support for the sustainability of African MT languages. She also notes that competency levels in the MT are decreasing, due to the impact of speaking predominantly English. Language shifts, especially those accompanied by a loss in loyalty to the MT, may result in culture decline.

Mesthrie (2008:17) makes the observation that 'switching to English as a dominant language of a new peer group is not possible without taking on some of the values and norms of that group'. This suggests that as English is acquired, so are the values and norms that English represents. A problem arises when one has to position oneself in what can only be described as a balancing act between one's cultural heritage and the opportunities and advantages that English is seen to potentially offer. This has significant consequences for the construction of identities. The extent to which the youth in South Africa, through their English schooling, are navigating between a world of cultural heritage (symbolised in their MT), and that of globalisation (symbolised in English) is discussed in section 2.2.4.

2.2.2 Social Class

According to Ash (2002:402), 'social class is a central concept in sociolinguistics research, and one of the small number of social variables by which speech communities are stratified'. The concept of class is important when considering a country such as South Africa, which, since the end of apartheid, has seen many socio-economic changes. Newsum's (1990:7) view is that:

[d]ivisiveness within societies accommodates the ideological and material objectives of the mode of production, and the hierarchical structure of the class system where there is an exploiting class and an exploited class... these divisions in societies are along religious, sexual, chronological, territorial, ethnic, linguistic, racial and educational lines, and have socio-political significance.

Among the features highlighted by Newsum (1990), I contend the most significant, when considering South African society, are 'chronological', 'linguistic', 'racial' and 'educational'. Since the abolition of apartheid in 1994, new opportunities have opened to all people, marking the beginning of social

class changes in a new democratic society. Since the abolition of apartheid racial segregation, which once restricted social mobility within the black sector of the population (Møller 1998), many organisations and 'official policies have fast-tracked Black empowerment in the government and private sectors' (Mesthrie 2010:6). As a result of these changes, a common trend is forming in recent research on South African society, with evidence of an emerging black middle-class (see for example, De Klerk 2000a; Fiske & Ladd 2004a; Soudien 2004; Mesthrie 2010).

In his article on the deracialization of the GOOSE vowel in South Africa, Mesthrie (2010:6) contends that a new black identity is being created in South Africa, invoking the popular term 'Black diamond', which he defines as:

a term for black people at universities who are expected to shine in terms of educational and work opportunities in the near future, and to have consumer habits similar to the erstwhile White middle-class. This is a new status group, likely to form the backbone of a new Black middle-class, and possibly a new South African middle-class in which race is de-emphasised. The Black diamonds have been to schools that were formerly reserved for White students. These are either elite private schools, in which the fees are only affordable by a select number of families; or ex-model-C schools, once restricted to Whites and charging a moderately high fee.

This description depicts a significant outcome of a changing class structure in South Africa- that of educational opportunities. These opportunities are subsequently affecting language choices, use and potential language shifts. Bernstein (2000:xxv) makes the observation that 'social class is a major regulator of the distribution of students to privileging discourses and institutions'. This is important when considering the effects of apartheid on the majority of schools in South Africa.

Fiske and Ladd (2004a:52) contend that the culmination of poorly resourced schools, low quality education and low student achievement, all associated with the legacy of apartheid, have caused an absence of an adequate 'culture of learning'. It is for this reason that those fortunate enough to be part of the new emerging black middle-class, now in a more secure financial standing, are choosing former white-only schools for their children, as these are perceived as the most successful educational institutions in South Africa (De Klerk 2000b; Soudien 2004; Hofmeyr & Lee 2004; Mesthrie 2010). According to Fiske and Ladd (2004a:54):

Educational preferences of middle-class African households are likely to be closer to those of their white middle-class counterparts than to those of impoverished Africans in the townships or former homelands.

This is considered in relation to identity and social distance in section 2.2.4.

Fiske and Ladd (2004a) point to another important factor relating to social class in post-apartheid South Africa. In the new democratic society, there are no longer segregated residential areas. Subsequently, a pattern has established among those in a better financial position, such as members of the new emerging black middle-class, to move into former white-only areas, where the best schools tend to be located. While the schooling benefits are evident, Fiske and Ladd (2004a:54) identify a potential danger of this, namely that middle-class black people may be more concerned with ensuring self-interests as opposed to promoting the interests of the poor and marginalised black people. The disparity between the new elites and their township counterparts is evident in social demonstrations of judgement, often manifesting in a variety of name-calling. This will be discussed in more detail, and in terms of identity construction, in section 2.2.4.

Subsequent to changes in social class, and a growing preference for former white-only schools, come potential ideological, cultural and linguistic consequences. As discussed in section 2.2.1, the prestige of English is causing parents and students alike to want an education in English. With changes in social class, traditionally white-only English schools are growing in popularity amongst the new emerging black middle-class, who no longer find the fees a barrier. The movement of black students into majority white student-body schools is resulting in various forms of assimilation. While the potential educational benefits are noted and desired, potential personal costs are often overlooked. Soudien (2004:102-104) makes the following observation:

In none of the studies is there evidence of what the literature calls the anti-racist school. Instead, all the studies concur on the distinct tendency towards assimilationism... many forms of multiculturalism are in effect variations of assimilationism. They are rooted in the presumption that the dominant culture is an unquestionable good. The incoming children might be allowed to perform in their so-called native guises for special occasions, but they operate under the protection of the dominant culture.

The concepts of integration and assimilation are important to consider when assessing the social and ideological consequences on the children of the new emerging black middle-class. Integration and assimilation in a school institution will inherently shape their views according to an already established social order. The dominance of English in South African society has been established and discussed. The importance of this dominance, however, is that it not only plays a pivotal role in the schooling choices of many of the current black elite, but it is also being maintained and perpetuated in the traditionally-white school ethos black parents are choosing for their children. The subtleties and nuances of the implications this has on language and social class, particularly in terms of control and access, is explored in contemporary South African literature. For example, Soudien (2004:105) offers the following critical commentary:

It is not the assertion of the cultural values of the dominant group that is important to understand, but the modalities of the dominant group as it seeks to maintain its hold on the social order. For this order to survive, it is important that the dominant group wins people over to the class project. Critical, therefore, is its attempt to construct a social consensus in which classes occupy and *accept* their places. *Social cohesion* is important. Based on the dominance of the socially privileged or the elite class, the social objective of the class project is the shaping and reconfiguration of society. This dominance, however, is not that of the so-called whites, but a new elite comprising the core of the old white elite and selected elements from amongst the former subordinate black groups. School in this project is about nurturing this class and its interests, in the face of threats to the hegemony of this class.

Soudien's (2004:107) view is that a 'reconstituting of the class' is happening in South African society today. I contend that English is an important vehicle being used to perpetuate the traditionally-white school ethos at many schools.

The discussion in this section has focussed on how English has played a significant role in the social changes in South Africa, including class structure, culture decline, language shift and the construction of identities. Makubalo (2007:37) explains the significance of this within the educational context. According to him, English maintains its position as the 'language of choice, for not only does it promise greater mobility in society, fluency therein is also a signifier of belonging to the particular community of school variously positioned as an 'English school''. Importantly, it is not only the acquisition of English that is perceived as essential for future gain, it is also the acquisition of a particular kind of accent (De Klerk 2000b; Makubalo 2007; McKinney 2009; Mesthrie 2010). The next section discusses this nuanced language position, in relation to its strategic goals.

2.2.3 Accent

The role of an accent in determining one's status, be it socio-economic, gender, ethnic, or age, has long been documented in literature (see for example, Giles 1973; Lanham & Macdonald 1979; Riches & Foddy 1989; Bradac 1990; Kaschula & Anthonissen 1995; Lass 1995). Accent is a linguistic phenomenon which is becoming increasingly significant with regard to English in the new emerging black middle-class in South Africa. Sebastian & Ryan (1985:113) explain the significance of accent, as follows:

Variations in listeners' judgements of a person's status and personality are commonly associated with the speaker's accent. In other words, style and other speech markers, just like race or ethnicity, can be sources of minimal information about others which, nonetheless, can strongly influence social responses.

Due to the fact that people are not only judged on their language choice, but, as can be seen from the above quote, their accent as well, strategies are employed to ensure that the 'correct' accent for

a specific domain is acquired. One such strategy is speech accommodation. However, language contact is a prerequisite for speech accommodation. Language contact is an important element in the acquisition of language and accent, as without contact, speech norms will be inaccessible to the acquirer. This is especially prevalent in the push for the emerging black middle-class to be educated in former white-only English schools, where the majority of the student body are MT English speakers. Before discussing speech accommodation, the linguistic outcomes of language contact and the social networks this facilitates is discussed, in order to gain an understanding of how an accent is acquired.

Sankoff (2002:640) claims that the linguistic outcomes of language contact are 'determined in large part by the history of social relations among populations, including economic, political, and demographic factors'. In a country such as South Africa, where the prestige of English is inherent and has become a symbol of socio-economic success, it is not surprising that contact in a confined context, such as a school, has resulted in a shift to English. One important factor to consider in language contact, however, is the degree of contact and access to the language. Within the context of this study, my view is that in bounded and confined educational contexts, especially schools, social networks are important and require further elaboration.

Milroy (2002:549) defines social networks as 'the aggregate of relationships contracted with others', that is, the relationships a person has with others. Educational contexts tend to create 'first order' network ties, which Milroy defines as network ties 'constituted by those persons with whom an individual directly interacts' (Milroy 2002:550). This is further enhanced by residential (boarding) facilities, as direct contact with peers will continue out of, as well as within, school hours. It is important to understand the implications of first order network ties in relation to the demographics of former white-only schools. While significant social and demographic changes are in operation, many of the schools (especially the more elitist private schools) remain predominantly white, if not in student numbers, then most certainly in their white-Western ethos. According to Kaschula and Anthonissen (1995:33):

People do not speak the way they do because they are black or white; rather it is because of **learned behaviour** [my emphasis]. People take on the linguistic characteristics of the people they live in close contact with.

The concept of learned behaviour, as described above, is significant in relation to language contact. Opportunities for 'learned behaviour' to occur in former white-only school environments are immense, as non-English MT students have first order network ties and abundant exposure to English MT students. The implications of this are discussed in Chapter Five.

A potential form of learned behaviour is speech accommodation. According to Schneider (2008:264), speech accommodation refers to an individual's adoption of select norms of a particular environment, with the intention of increasing the number of shared features between him/herself and that environment. This involves the approximation of linguistic items, with the goal of diminishing social distance and increasing group or individual cohesiveness (Schneider 2008:264). Speech accommodation involves two strategies: convergence and divergence (Giles & Coupland 1991). Of significance to this study are strategies of speech convergence.

In a discussion on speech accommodation, Giles and Coupland (1991) identify the concept of 'communication accommodation theory' (hereafter, CAT), as one strategy of speech convergence. According to this theory, 'speech convergence reflects, in the unmarked case, a speaker's or a group's need (often non-conscious) for social integration or identification with another' (Giles & Coupland 1991:72). CAT is relevant and necessary for understanding processes of accommodation in English school environments, especially in schools where black students remain in the minority. This will be discussed in the relation to the findings of this study in Chapter Five.

The linguistic processes involved in CAT are elaborated on by Coupland, Coupland & Giles (1991). They describe CAT as involving 'processes of attuning', which they explain as 'adaptive and strategic moves' made by speakers to 'increase and decrease social and sociolinguistic distance' (Coupland et al., 1991:26). It can be deduced that acts of speech accommodation are strategic. The strategies employed, and the desired outcomes, as noted in CAT, will be explored and discussed in relation to the findings of this study in Chapter Five.

In addition to identifying CAT as one strategy of speech convergence, Giles and Coupland (1991) also discuss the costs associated with large scale, long term convergence. One cost identified is the potential loss of personal and social identity (Giles & Coupland 1991:75). This is relevant to the South African context, where social repercussions of speech accommodation are being increasingly documented, especially among the more elitist group of the emerging black middle-class. This is explained by Mesthrie (2008:13):

Because black pupils were in an initial minority at the time of the new integration, they were the ones who made greater cultural and linguistic adaptations to the school environment than the others. This process has created an English-dominant, young black elite (or at least children of elites) whose status contrasts rather starkly with pupils at the traditional township schools.

Despite this outcome, there remains a steady flow of black students into English schools.

In spite of the potential threats to identity and cultural values facing those who attend English Western schools, there remains a steady push to educate children of the emerging black middle-class in these institutions (De Klerk 2000a:89). Gaganakis (1992:51) makes the following observation with regard to accent, and offers some explanation as to why parents and children alike are making this choice:

Language is a major symbolic form through which meaning is expressed and experienced. However, the fluent use of well-accented English has, for these pupils, a particular symbolic value; it is perceived as 'the language of education', a phrase which has recurred frequently in the interviews. At school, black pupils acquire a language which is associated with upward social mobility and carries greater prestige than the vernacular at home. The fluent use of English consequently serves as a particular identity marker in terms of both a personal and a social identity.

A similar finding was noted by McKinney (2009:10) in her observation of school students. She contends that speaking a form of English which approximates to that of a white MT English speaker, especially inherent in the 'correct' accent, is seen as a form of 'cultural capital' or, in the South Africa context, 'linguistic capital' (McKinney 2009:10). According to McKinney (2009:10), this is an expected outcome, which she explains as follows:

Given the nature of white hegemony in the economy and the broader cultural environment, it is not surprising that varieties of English spoken by white people have come to define the standard for how English should be spoken.

The English school identity is seen as growing in prestige and popularity. Makubalo (2007:37) notes that speaking a 'particular brand of English is important to students not only within the school, but also outside it, in distinguishing themselves as being suburban schooled'. This distance, although seen as a status symbol between the new elites and the rest of society, is causing social challenges of its own. For example, Gaganakis (1992:54) explains how English, as used by the new elite, is seen as a means to signal distance and create social closure from township people. Furthermore he observes that this is often associated with taking on a new identity, and a refusal of the elite to speak the vernacular. This challenge has implications for changes in South African society, notably those associated with social class, language use and identity.

2.2.4 Identity

A review of literature pertinent to this study has focused on the prestige of English, the changes resulting from a restructuring of social class (specifically in the emergence of a new black middle-class), and the acquisition and prestige of an accent which approximates that of a white English MT

speaker. The discussion in this section shifts to identity. It begins with a clarification of how the concept of identity is viewed in this study. This is followed by a discussion on the practice of identity construction and thirdly, how identity is shaped by the prestige of English, social class and the social implications of accent.

❖ **The concept of identity**

For the purpose of this study, identity is understood as (Mendoza-Denton 2002:475):

the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs, in so far as this negotiation is signalled through language and other semiotic means. Identity, then, is neither attribute nor possession, but an individual and collective-level process of semiosis.

Furthermore, this study adopts a poststructuralist view of identity (Peirce 1995:9), which is explained in the following section.

❖ **The practice of identity construction**

In this study, it is accepted that identity is a fluid concept, and one which is constantly re-evaluated and reconstructed according to specific needs. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004:376):

One of the greatest weaknesses of previous research on identity, in fact, is the assumption that identities are attributes of individuals or groups rather than of situations. As the product of situated social action, identities may shift and recombine to meet new circumstances. This dynamic perspective contrasts with the traditional view of identities as unitary and enduring psychological states or social categories.

This view of identity is similar to that of a poststructuralist view, which considers identity as multiple, a site of struggle and subject to change (Peirce 1995:9). In a similar vein, Schneider (2008:264) states that identities are 'multiple and dynamic; they need to be negotiated, and they may change in the course of time and vary from one social context to another'. Contemporary South African sociolinguistic literature (see for example, Bangeni and Kapp 2005; De Kadt 2005; Makubalo 2007) advocates the adoption of a poststructuralist lens for examining identity construction. Furthermore, an important theme that emerges in contemporary studies of identity is the clear difference between social ideologies and social practices. Bucholtz and Hall (2004:382) explain how

cultural beliefs about how people of various social backgrounds should, must, or do speak and act (generated through indexicality) are generally reductive and inflexible, while the actual linguistic and social practices in which people engage in specific social contexts (including the display of practice in performance) are highly complex and strategic.

How, and to what extent people (in the case of this study, young black isiXhosa MT students) use language in strategic ways in order to access and navigate a variety of different social circumstances and contexts is discussed in Chapter Five.

❖ **Identity construction in relation to the prestige of English, social class and the social implications of accent**

Identity construction does not take place in isolation: instead, it takes place within, and is shaped by, the group to which an individual belongs. Edwards (2009:20) elaborates on this as follows:

[o]ur personal characteristic derives from our socialisation within the group (or, rather, groups) to which we belong; one's particular social context defines that part of the larger human pool of potential from which a personal identity can be constructed.

The implications of socialisation are especially relevant in the context of a transforming South African society. Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz's (1982:2) explanation of how the urban context of society is changing is helpful for understanding the South African context. According to Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982:2) 'the old forms of plural society in which families lived in island-like communities, surrounded and supported by others of similar ethnic or class backgrounds, are no longer typical'. Drawing on Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), one may infer that people are no longer living in homogeneous groups and socialising children in homogenous ways, but are instead living in diverse realities, in terms of socio-economic status, and language and ethnic social demographics. This is relevant to the post-apartheid South African context, where residential areas, including middle-class suburbs, townships and informal settlements, are becoming increasingly desegregated, racially and linguistically. A consequence of this is a more diverse social context in which children of today are being socialised. Following Edwards (2009:20), one may infer that it is impacting on our 'personal characteristic' and hence identity construction. Identity is no longer seen as bound to one's ethnic, culture or language group, but could, in fact, be a combination of many factors that characterise the linguistically and culturally diverse context of contemporary South Africa.

Speech accommodation is seen as playing an influential role in the construction of identities. According to Edwards (2009:32), speech accommodations can be seen as 'identity adjustments made to increase group status and favourability, moves towards more favourable psychosocial contexts or attempts to strengthen group distinctions'. This perspective holds that speech accommodation is more complex than just learning to speak a language in a particular manner: it also affects identity. De Klerk (2000b:200) explains the implications of this in a South African context:

Learning an additional language may serve symbolically as an emblem of its user's new identity, and provide a new lens through which to view the world. Learning appropriate linguistic habits involves more than learning the language; it often involves social and psychological adaptation, changes in beliefs, attitudes, values and other behavioural patterns.

She concludes that 'language is thus a powerful symbol of heritage and identity' (De Klerk 2000b:200). She explains how language is used by an individual to negotiate a sense of identity within different social contexts, and drawing on Peirce (1994:2), she asserts that an individual 'gains access to- or is denied access to- the powerful social networks' (De Klerk 2000b:200).

Given the prestigious status of English in South Africa (see 2.2.1), speech accommodation to English is to be expected. Schools, as public institutions, provide environments conducive to creating and establishing a variety of speech norms. This is not without its challenges, as Makoe (2007:67) observes:

Classroom environments are places in which a variety of discourses are constructed and deconstructed, produced and reproduced; and within which identity positions are offered and children negotiate, legitimise and maintain their identities as members of these environments... English is discursively constructed as indispensable and the only medium of education; and children are thus socialised into the worldview that English is the natural order.

Makoe's contention is that the accommodation process comes at a cost to identity. The implications of this are discussed in Chapter Five. Speech accommodation to English needs to be understood in relation to a potential shift away from MT languages.

The choice to be schooled in an English environment is affecting patterns of language use. According to De Kadt (2005:19), 'a consensus appears to be emerging from these investigations of language usage patterns at school and in the home that language shift from indigenous African languages to English is beginning, selectively, to take place'. Earlier studies reported a similar finding, and suggest that the language shift is resulting in an identity crisis among students in former white-only English schools (De Klerk 2000b). De Klerk (2000b) explains how a loss in the MT results in an alienation from the home community. This alienation has led to an identity crisis. The notion of alienation or social distance is a recurrent finding in various studies (see, for example, De Klerk 2000b; Rudwick 2008; McKinney 2009; Mesthrie 2010). The increased use of English, language shift to English, and the loss of the MT are seen as creating distance between the new black elites and their township peers.

Displays of social distance are characterised by identity judgements, which often manifest in name-calling. Such names include 'coconut' and 'oreo', and are becoming ever-popular and prevalent in the diction of young South Africans. Rudwick (2008:102) defines coconut and oreo as the following:

'coconut' is used in South African in reference to a black person. Its use implies that, although this person has dark skin on the outside, he or she is 'white' on the inside, just like a coconut's shell is dark and its fruit is white. In other words, a 'coconut' acts and behaves

‘white’. ‘Oreo’ has an equivalent meaning, but its origin is the trademark name of a type of sandwich cookie, popular in the United States, that has two chocolate layers filled by white frosting.

The implications of these emergent identity markers on young black South Africans are discussed in Chapter Five. It includes a consideration of the following: whether the socio-economic benefits resultant of a ‘good’ education in English outweigh the need for social cohesion with less fortunate black students; whether, and if so, to what extent, the positive attributes of identity labels (for example, speaking a variety of English which approximates that of a white English MT speaker) outweigh the negative attributes; and how young people understand and use identity labels, such as ‘coconut’. The discussion of literature on language shift thus far has highlighted the potential costs resultant from language shift, in terms of loss of the MT and changing identity constructions. This needs to be balanced by a discussion on the perceived benefits of language shift in post-apartheid South Africa. This is the focus of the next section.

Mesthrie (2006:161) asserts that ‘English is likely to gain ground as the language of aspirations, but not at the cost of the African languages, which will continue to carry a local, rather than international, intellectual and cultural load’. Similarly, the findings of Nongogo’s (2007:52) research revealed that students ‘were equally comfortable using African languages and English, alternating the use of each according to space and purpose of conversation, and to the particular identity position they wanted to assume’. A possible reason for this is the fact that even though the students indicated their proficiency levels in English were better than those in their MT, they are still highly proficient in their MT (Nongogo 2007:52). This study provides evidence of speakers’ ability to use their MT and English concurrently and strategically. The motivation for this is complex: it includes being able to access different social domains, while simultaneously maintaining a fundamental allegiance to the MT and culture. Allegiance to the MT has attracted the attention of other researchers.

A more recent study by Mesthrie (2008:17) notes that ‘current investigations suggest that even among the new middle-class young elites, there is an allegiance to an African language as part of one’s heritage’. This suggests a shift in language *dominance*, but not necessarily a shift in language. Similarly, Edwards (2009:96) explains how language, even though it is not considered the socially prestigious one, is maintained for other functions. He states that:

A language or dialect, though it may be lacking in general social prestige, may nevertheless function as a powerful bonding agent, providing a sense of identity. Indeed, it is a social and linguistic fact that *any* variety can be the voice of a group identity, a central element in the revitalised ‘consciousness’ of nonstandard-dialect speakers.

Edwards' (2009) view, when applied to the South African context, provides insights on how, despite the prestige of English, the MT is still valued and desired for cultural and identity purposes by many speakers. The extent to which the choice to maintain and use both English and the MT, in terms of identity construction, is discussed in Chapter Five.

2.2.5 Synthesis of qualitative perspectives

The qualitative perspectives discussed in this chapter have focussed on four themes: the prestige of English, social class, accent and identity. The prestige of English has been situated within the socio-political historical context of South Africa, which illuminates and contextualises its importance today. Social class within a post-apartheid society has been addressed, in terms of the opportunities and choices now available to black people. The emergence of a new black middle-class has also been discussed. The social implications of accent have been discussed in terms of the status of English and the subsequent effects it has on identity. Identity has been defined and discussed in relation to language choice and use.

2.3 Quantitative perspectives

For the quantitative part of this study, which is focussed primarily on exploring the English accents of isiXhosa MT speakers, selected literature pertaining to South African English is reviewed. First, White South African English varieties are discussed. This is followed by a discussion of Black South African English varieties. Given the scope of this study, only three vowels are described. These vowels are classified according to Wells' (1982:127-166) standard lexical sets (see Appendix G), and consist of the GOOSE, TRAP and DRESS vowels.

2.3.1 South African English

South African English (hereafter, SAE) has long been documented in literature, albeit by only a few scholars. The phonetic findings presented in Chapter Four of this study will be compared to the description of White South African English (hereafter WSAE) and Black South African English (hereafter BSAE) as contended by Hundleby (1964), Lass (1995), Gough (1996), Van Rooy (2004), Lanham (1978) Bowerman (2004), Bekker and Eley (2007), Da Silva (2008) and Bekker (2009).

2.3.2 White South African English (WSAE)

Lanham (1978:138) provides an account of the phonological variables of SAE, a type of English which he defines as 'White South African society using English as a MT'. Lanham, drawing on the Australian model, distinguishes between three groups within SAE. These are: Conservative, Respectable and Extreme (Lanham 1978). Lanham defines the groups as the following (Lanham 1982:34)

Conservative SAE- a variety close to standard British English.

Respectable SAE- Natal English variables in prominence particularly [ai > a:], often co-occurring with General South African English variables and stress-raised word-final syllables.

Extreme SAE- Cape English or Cape English and General South African English; co-occurring Natal English variables do not affect the social identity of this accent.

Lanham reports on a raised [e] in SAE, to the most advanced cardinal vowel [e] or higher, which is prominent in Extreme SAE and pervasive in general SAE. He also reports on the limited evidence of social consciousness with regards to this raising, and that it is usually not corrected by speakers (Lanham 1978:152). Lanham (1978:152) also reports on a raised [æ] in SAE. He contends that in its most advanced form, it is more likened to [e̞], and it is connected with [e] raising. Another significant finding Lanham (1978:153) reports on is a centralising of the [uu] vowel. He contends that: 'the most advanced variant fully central [ʉ^v] favoured by preceding [y]'. According to Lanham (1978:153), the trend is widespread in SAE, especially amongst those under 30 years of age.

While Lanham's descriptions of SAE are relevant, social changes since the time of writing have compromised the validity of his terminology. Due to this, Lass (1995) has re-defined the social categories of SAE.

Lass (1995), drawing on and extending Lanham's terminology, provides useful definitions for categories within SAE, which are helpful in establishing the use of different variables. This is of particular interest to the findings of this study, as social class is a factor which is considered in the classification of different accent varieties (see Chapter Five for further discussion). Lass (1995:95) extends Lanham's original groupings as follows:

Conservative SAE- the type of speech least distinguishable from Southern English, at its highest end virtually RP of a rather archaic type... Conservative accents are the ones typical of 'serious' news announcers... such speech is also common among the 'first families' of older urban areas like Cape Town, schoolteachers, and in general upper-middle-class people of a normative disposition.

Respectable SAE- the local standard, that range of accent types associated with all other white standard speakers (for example, university lecturers, teachers, physicians, advocates, accountants, etc.)

Extreme SAE- range of accent-types associated with relatively low socio-economic status, lack of education, and less skilled or non-professional work, and the lower end of the 'white-collar' scale.

According to Lass (1995:97), the DRESS vowel of SAE is usually half-close front [e], and 'is not an important variable, though it tends to be closer in female than male speakers in non-conservative varieties and is often quite centralised'. The TRAP vowel, on the other hand, according to Lass, is an important social marker. Lass (1995:97) contends that both Conservative and Respectable groups realise the TRAP vowels as [æ], although sometimes a bit higher than the RP [æ], but never approaching [ɛ], which according to Lass (1995:97), is 'the Extreme value and used as an imitative stereotype'. Lass goes on to explain that some Extreme speakers 'perceive TRAP as so close to DRESS that they write it in that way', for example 'takkies' spelled 'tekkies'. Lass (1995:98) also considers the GOOSE vowel to be an important social variable in SAE. He contends that:

Conservative speakers have a back(ish) vowel of [u:] quality, whereas in all other varieties it is never backer than central [ʊ]. In younger Respectable speakers (again with females leading the change), it may be fully front [y:] (rounded FLEECE), with 'compressed' rather than 'pouted' lip rounding... In this case, the higher up the Respectable scale, and the younger the speaker, the fronter the vowel.

The fronting of the GOOSE vowel is significant with regards to SAE, as Lass (1995:99) explains that the 'central-to-front quality is an ethnic as well as a social marker; it is (on anecdotal evidence at least) perceived by black speakers as peculiarly 'white'".

Bowerman (2004) gives an account of WSAE, using both Wells' lexical sets and similar definitions of the different categories within WSAE to Lass (1995). Bowerman (2004:931) defines the different categories as: *Cultivated* (closely approximating RP and associated with upper class); *General* (a social indicator of the middle-class); and *Broad* (associated with the working class and/or Afrikaans descent). Bowerman (2004:937) classifies the DRESS vowel as the following:

This vowel is usually realised as [e], though it is lowered to [ɛ] in Broad, sometimes approaching [æ], especially before [tʃ]. Some varieties of Broad and General WSAfE place this vowel higher, around raised [e] or lowered [ɪ].

According to Bowerman, the usual realisation of the TRAP vowel for the Cultivated and General groups of WASE is a slightly raised [æ]. This differs to the realisation of the Broad group, who often

raise the vowel to [ɛ]. For this reason, the TRAP vowel sometimes encroaches on DRESS for some speakers of the Broad group (Bowerman 2004:937).

Bowerman contends that the GOOSE vowel is 'usually high central [ʊ:] or fronter, significantly more forward than its RP equivalent [u:]. Cultivated speakers, however, produce a vowel closer to [u:]' (Bowerman 2004:937).

Bekker and Eley (2007) and Bekker (2009) also make the observation that the GOOSE vowel is progressively being fronted in WSAE, and has become symbolic of a prestigious variety of English. Bekker (2009:251) also makes the assertion that the DRESS vowel in SAE is 'subject to very little style-shifting, and does not vary dramatically across important social parameters'.

Da Silva (2008) gives a similar account of the DRESS, TRAP and GOOSE vowel to Bekker. Da Silva uses the same categories within SAE as Lass (1995), namely *Conservative*, *Respectable* and *Extreme*. She contends that the speakers of SAE tend to use a higher and tenser [e], rather than [ɛ] for the DRESS vowel. She claims that [ɛ] is a characteristic of Extreme dialects of SAE (Da Silva 2008:86). Da Silva contends that the TRAP vowel ranges from [æ], used in Conservative dialects, to [ɛ], which is used in Extreme dialects (Da Silva 2008:86). Da Silva advocates that that GOOSE vowel is realised as [u:] by Conservative speakers, moving to a central [ʊ:], and to a fronted, rounded [y:], which is considered especially prestigious among Respectable speakers (Da Silva 2008:93).

As motivated in Chapter One, it can be assumed that all participants in this study are members of the middle-class, or 'middle-class to be' (the cases of children from working-class homes on scholarships). For this reason, Lass (1995) and Da Silva's (2008) descriptions for 'Respectable' WSAE varieties, and Bowerman's (2004) descriptions for 'General' WSAE varieties will be considered in relation to the findings of this study, in Chapter Five.

2.3.3 Black South African English (BSAE)

Hundleby (1964) is one of few scholars, who has documented isiXhosa-English pronunciation in the Eastern Cape. His findings are of particular interest to this study, as the data reported in this study (in Chapter Four) were collected in Grahamstown (Eastern Cape) from isiXhosa speakers. While

Hundleby's findings may be outdated, especially when considering how the social fabric of South Africa has changed in the last fifty years, they are still interesting to consider for comparative purposes. Hundleby (1964:66) contends that in isiXhosa, the phoneme /e/ is realised by two different allophones: an open 'e' [ɛ] or a very close 'e' [ɛ̟] and [ɛ̠]. This finding will be considered in light of the current research findings regarding the DRESS vowel. Hundleby (1964:67) contends that the phoneme /a/ is realised by the allophone [a] (as in /*abafundi*/), and [a:] (as in /*ukubala*/). He goes on to contend that the 'articulatory area of this vowel allophone is lower and retracted in relation to the RE allophone of /æ/' (Hundleby 1964:67). Hundleby also notes that the two vowels, /e/ and /a/ are very similar in phonetic quality, and therefore often result in some confusion between the vowels. The example Hundleby gives are the words *cattle* and *band*. He contends that it is common for isiXhosa speakers to pronounce 'cattle' (/kætɫ/) as /kɛɫ/, and 'band' (/bænd/) as /bɛnd/ (Hundleby 1964:67).

BSAE is a relatively new term for a variety of English spoken in South Africa by black people. According to Da Silva (2008:98), drawing on the work of Buthelezi (1995:242, as quoted in Da Silva):

it [BSAE] is a general term covering the English spoken by black people who learned English in schools that had curricula set by the Department of Education and Training (DET). These schools have been described as having few or no L1 English-speaking teachers as a resource and often have had black L2 speakers of English who are unqualified or poorly qualified for ESL instruction.

Gough (1996) reports on a significant phenomenon in BSAE. He contends that the vowel phonology of BSAE is greatly influenced by the five vowel system which governs the Nguni languages (Gough 1996:59). The result of this, Gough contends, is the STRUT, BATH and PALM vowels tend to be merged into [a], while the TRAP, DRESS and NURSE vowels tend to be merged to [ɛ]. Contrasts between long and short vowels is non-existent in Nguni languages, which therefore means that this distinction is absent when speaking English. For this reason, the FOOT and GOOSE vowels are merged into [u] (Gough 1996:59).

While BSAE has been documented as a variety in itself, Van Rooy (2004) makes the interesting claim that this variety is becoming more diffuse, as South African society changes. In Van Rooy's opinion, this diffusion 'reflects a new diversity of lifestyles, education and cultural mixing, which sees English not only as the main language of a multilingual Black elite, but even making inroads into some homes' (Van Rooy 2004:943). This assertion is supported by the findings presented by Da Silva (2008). She claims that since the abolition of apartheid, due to social and educational changes,

contact with L1 English speakers has increased. For this reason she claims the following (Da Silva 2008:215):

Lect 2 [black] speakers who have a high degree of fluency in English appear to associate some L1 interference variants as stigmatised, possibly associated with a lower quality of education, and they adopt a variant that is present in lect 1 [white English mother tongue speakers] or create a new variant to disassociate themselves from using the stigmatized feature.

In his description of BSAE, Van Rooy (2004) makes the distinction between a mesolect and an acrolect variety of BSAE. The mesolectal form of BSAE, described by Van Rooy (2004:944) is 'spoken fluently by educated speakers, but because salient features of pronunciation (like vowel mergers) and certain features of grammar, it would not be judged as overtly prestigious by speakers of the variety of other South Africans'. The acrolectal form, in comparison, is 'closer to native varieties of SAfE in many respects, but at the same time, it is characterised by more variability rather than less' (Van Rooy 2004:947). Given that the participants in this study attend prestigious schools, and are often mocked for speaking an 'English school' prestigious variety of English, the acrolectal form of BSAE is presented in Table 2.1, and is used for comparative purposes in Chapter Five.

Table 2.1: The vowels of Black South African English (acrolect) – summary

KIT	ɪ > i	FLEECE	i > ɪ	PRICE	ʌɪ > ʌ
FOOT	ʊ > u	GOOSE	ʊ > u	CHOICE	ɔɪ
TRAP	ɛ ~ æ	DRESS	ɛ	SQUARE	ɛ ~ e
NURSE	ɜ ~ ə > ɛ	THOUGHT	ɔ	NEAR	e
LOT	ɔ ~ ɒ	FORCE	ɔ	GOAT	o ~ ɔ > əʊ
CLOTH	ɔ ~ ɒ	NORTH	ɔ	CURE	ʔ
STRUT	ʌ ~ ʊ	START	ɑ ~ ʌ	FACE	e ~ ɛɪ
comma	ə	BATH	ä ~ ʌ	MOUTH	aʊ > ɔ
letter	ə	PALM	ɑ ~ ʌ		
happy	ɪ > i	horsES	ɪ ~ ə	About	ə

KEY: > = more common than
~ = co-varies with

Source: Van Rooy (2004:947)

The important observation that both Van Rooy and Da Silva make is that studying and documenting so-called BSAE today is important, as it would appear that a homogenous BSAE variety no longer exists, but is, in reality, a far more complex phenomenon. With changes in social class structure within South Africa, speech varieties are increasingly becoming shaped by educational status and social class, potentially rendering BSAE, which was developed as a 'relatively homogenous second language variety' (Van Rooy 2004:943), obsolete. The findings of this study, presented in Chapter Four and discussed in Chapter Five, draw on the observations of Van Rooy and Da Silva, and illustrate how varieties of English spoken by black people (in this study, isiXhosa speakers specifically) are far more nuanced and complex than those classified as traditionally BSAE.

2.3.4 Synthesis of Quantitative perspectives

This section has given an overview of WSAE and BSAE. It has discussed each variety in terms of three vowels, namely the TRAP, DRESS and GOOSE vowel. It has described the phonetic features of each vowel, and how different realisations are evident within each variety, and between WSAE and BSAE (see Appendix G for a summary). It has also indicated which vowels are considered to be significant social markers. The section concludes with a discussion on the nature of BSAE, and how the characterisation of this variety may be outdated, or obsolete when referring to the variety of English spoken by the emerging black elite.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided insights into how, in a transforming South African society, class structures are changing. These changes are resulting in the emergence of a new black elite, who desire English schooling in former white-only Western schools for their children. These decisions are based on the prestige of English, and the social aspirations it represents. A potential language shift incurred by attending these schools is discussed in terms of its social benefits and costs to identity. White South African English, as well as Black South African English have been described in terms of the TRAP, DRESS and GOOSE vowels. Chapter Five provides a critical commentary on perspectives from both the qualitative discussion and the quantitative discussion presented in this chapter, in light of the findings of this study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and justify the research orientation and methods used in this study. It begins with an outline of the research goals, followed by an explanation of the research orientation and mixed methods approach that was adopted. The two-phase research design is explained, and the research site and participants are described. The collection, analysis and interpretation of data are discussed. Ethical issues are addressed.

3.2 Research goals

The goal of this research is to understand socio-cultural change in two prestigious secondary school environments. More specifically, the study investigates, with a view to understanding:

- ❖ how language shift to English and attitudes to language in general affect the identity construction of young female isiXhosa MT speakers
- ❖ how accents are changing, and the extent to which this is influenced by social class and changes in identity construction.

These aims informed the research orientation and the adoption of the mixed methods approach.

3.3 Research orientation

Guided by the research goals, the research orientation of this study was both:

- qualitative, in the investigation of language attitudes and the construction of multiple identities by young female isiXhosa speakers, and
- quantitative, in the analysis of young English and isiXhosa female speakers' accents, focusing specifically on three vowels.

This necessitated the adoption of a pragmatist position regarding the methodology of the research, and the adoption of a 'mixed methods' approach (Dörnyei 2007:24).

Dörnyei (2007:24) defines qualitative research as that which 'involves data collection procedures that result primarily in open-ended, non-numerical data which is then analysed primarily by non-

statistical methods'. According to Dörnyei (2007:36), the qualitative paradigm has become increasingly accepted in the field of Linguistics, due to it relating to the growing recognition that almost every aspect of language acquisition and use is determined or significantly shaped by social, cultural, and situational factors. Qualitative research is ideal for providing insights into such contextual conditions and influences (Dörnyei 2007:36). The open-endedness and flexibility characterising a qualitative 'emergent research design' (Dörnyei 2007:37) is particularly well suited when conducting research in a school setting. This is evident in the ability to interact with school students in their natural environment, and in the flexibility to elicit natural speech data without having to manipulate the situation under study.

In contrast to the qualitative paradigm, Dörnyei (2007) defines quantitative research as that which 'involves data collection procedures that result primarily in numerical data which is then analysed by statistical methods' (Dörnyei 2007:24). Quantitative social research was 'originally inspired by the spectacular progress of the natural sciences in the 19th century and therefore early social researchers set out to adopt what was called the scientific method in their investigations' (Dörnyei 2007:30). Dörnyei (2007:31) goes on to explain how the scientific method postulates three key stages in the research process: (a) observing a phenomenon or identifying a problem; (b) generating an initial hypothesis; and (c) testing the hypothesis by collecting and analysing empirical data using standardised procedures. A key attribute of the quantitative paradigm, which makes it appealing to many researchers, is the belief that research questions can be dealt with in an objective manner, which will ultimately lead to more accurate and reliable results. A quantitative orientation is well suited to a study such as this which involves accent analysis. A quantitative analytical process, enabled changes in accent to be identified and accurately recorded in numerical format, which could then be substantiated and verified through statistical analysis (as explained in section 4.2 of Chapter Four).

This study benefited from drawing on both qualitative and quantitative research orientations, which initiated the adoption of a mixed methods approach.

3.3.1 Mixed methods approach

In order to address the challenges and limitations of qualitative and quantitative research methods, researchers started combining the two paradigms in research. Dörnyei (2007:43) contends that the 'real breakthrough in combining qualitative and quantitative research occurred in the 1970's with

the introduction of the concept of 'triangulation' into the social sciences'. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:195) define 'triangulation' as:

the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour... triangular techniques in the social sciences attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint and, in so doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data'.

This theory of triangulation has become the underpinning of the 'mixed methods' research orientation.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:23), drawing on Johnson (2007), view the mixed methods methodology as a form of 'methodological pluralism' rather than a strict allegiance to either the qualitative or quantitative paradigm. They go on to add that the mixed method approach enables the weaknesses of both paradigms to be identified and solutions found to draw on the strengths of each paradigm in a collaborative manner. A consequence of the mixed methods approach outlined by Cohen et al., (2011:23) is that research is driven by the research questions, rather than by the methodological approach of either the qualitative or quantitative paradigm, which can potentially limit the research undertaken. According to Cohen et al., (2011:26), advocates of mixed methods research hail it as:

an important approach that is driven by pragmatism, that yields real answers to real questions, that is useful in the real world, that avoids mistaken allegiance to either quantitative or qualitative approaches on their own, that enables rich data to be gathered which afford the triangulation that has been advocated in research for many years, that respects the mixed, messy world, and that increases validity and reliability.

The mixed method approach was adopted because it was seen as being a useful and necessary methodological approach for incorporating both qualitative and quantitative data, and emphasising the interconnectedness and interrelatedness of the two phenomena being studied, namely changes in attitudes (sociolinguistic) and changes in accent (sociophonetic).

3.4 Research site and access to the schools

The sample group used in this study can be described as a convenience or opportunity sampling. Dörnyei (2007:99) defines convenience or opportunity sampling as the following:

Where an important criterion of sample selection is the convenience of the researcher: members of the target population are selected for the purpose of the study if they meet certain practical criteria, such as geographical proximity, availability at a certain time, easy accessibility, or the willingness to volunteer...participants also have to possess certain key characteristics that are related to the purpose of the investigation

I purposely wanted to investigate socio-cultural change caused by language in the Grahamstown community, Eastern Cape, as it is my hometown and therefore of interest to me. While similar research has been conducted in the same research site by De Klerk (2000a,b), I hypothesize that many changes have taken place with the regards to her findings over the last decade. I also wanted to conduct research in the Eastern Cape Province, in which the greatest number of isiXhosa speakers resides (see Appendix A). Schools provide a close community environment, more so when they are boarding schools, as was the case at the two schools that were selected for this study. A school environment provided not only a stable social habitat in terms of social networks, but also an environment which facilitated the learning of English, and of a particular kind of English accent for many black students.

Two secondary girls' schools were chosen for this study, one a private school (School A), and the other a model-C school (School B). The schools were specifically chosen for two reasons. First, I had professional contacts with staff and principals at both schools, and had already established a good working relationship after their willing participation in a previous small-scale research project that was a forerunner to this thesis (Wilmot 2009). Second, I specifically wanted single-sex female schools, as to eliminate gender as a variable in the research.

I wrote to the two principals at the respective schools, and written permission to interview some of their senior students was obtained. Subsequent to this, I contacted a teacher from each school, who identified willing participants from their respective classes.

3.5 Research participants

The participants in this study are students currently in their final three years of schooling (Grade 10-12). My selection of senior students was informed by the assumption that older students would have enjoyed a longer immersion in the institutional culture of their school. Furthermore, I assumed that being older, and hence more mature individuals, they would understand the purpose of the research and hence take the interviews more seriously than younger students. There were 12 participants from each school, six of which are black isiXhosa MT speakers, and 6 of which are white English MT speakers. All of the black isiXhosa MT participants from both schools live in the Eastern Cape. While all of the white English participants from School B live in the Eastern Cape, this is not the case with

the white English participants from School A (see Table C.2, Appendix C). This is taken into account and considered in light of the phonetic findings, presented in Chapter Four.

As the study involved working with girls, some of whom were under the age of 18, ethical issues required attention.

3.6 Ethics

According to Dörnyei (2007:63), 'social research- including research in education- concerns people's lives in the social world and therefore it inevitably involves ethical issues'. Due to the nature of the research in this study, ethical issues and constraints were addressed, especially as the views of young learners form the basis of the study. Dörnyei (2007:65&70) identifies a number of ethical issues relating to social research, the following of which were important for this study: the amount of shared information, relationships with participants, data collection methods, anonymity, and dealing with sensitive information.

3.6.1 Amount of shared information

This issue refers to the amount of information and degree of explanation the researcher offers the participants of a study before data is gathered. Collecting and documenting natural speech is a sensitive and difficult task, as many people will change their speech to suit the needs (or perceived needs) of the researcher. For this reason, it is better if the participants are not fully informed of sociophonetic goals of the study. This counteracts the potential for them to alter their speech. Before the interviews took place, the goals of the study were explained to the participants. They were aware that the research focussed on the way in which young people are using language and how they feel about their MT and culture. After the interviews had been conducted, the issue of accent was discussed with each participant. Each participant had the right to withdraw at this point, but none chose to do so.

3.6.2 Relationships with participants

The relationship between participants and the researcher is an important one. Given the small age gap (in some cases only five years) between the researcher and participants, I was aware of the potential problem of over-familiarity. Unlike ethnographic research, which requires a substantial amount of time being spent with participants, my interaction with each participant was brief, consisting of a single sociolinguistic interview of approximately an hour. The interviews took place at

each school therefore I did not interact with any of the participants' friends or family members, which enabled me to keep myself emotionally detached from their situations.

3.6.3 Anonymity

Anonymity was guaranteed to the schools and the participants. Throughout the study pseudonyms are used. The researcher acknowledges that because there are only two all girls' schools in Grahamstown, it may be possible to identify the schools that participated in the study. The nature of the study, however, does not carry reputation risk.

3.6.4 Active consent

Active consent, which involves the signing of a consent form by all participants, was gained before each interview. Dörnyei (2007:70) cautions that that requesting consent for a study in a formalised manner, such as a form, 'can be off-putting or can raise undue suspicion that something is not quite right about the study, thereby discouraging people from participating'. This reaction was noted in some of the white English MT participants, but gradually declined during the interview.

3.6.5 Data collection methods

All the data collection was undertaken on the campus of each school. This helped the participants feel relaxed and comfortable in familiar surroundings during the interviews. I contend that the relatively small age gap between myself and the participants, as well as the fact that we are the same sex, was to my advantage, in that the participants were comfortable with sharing their ideas with me. This is borne out by the feedback I received from the teachers, who commented on how the girls who had not participated had been very disappointed. The participants' enthusiasm to participate enhanced the quality of the data collected.

3.6.6 Sensitive information

Many of the interview questions focussed on culture, and asked the black isiXhosa MT participants how they felt about being schooled in a white English environment. Responses often included personal anecdotes. The researcher exercised discretion when choosing appropriate quotations to use in the discussion in Chapter Four, and pseudonyms were used to ensure that participants are not identifiable in the text.

The above section has described how ethical issues were addressed in the study.

3.7 Data collection

Data were collected through interviews. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007:349),

[t]he interview is a flexible tool for data collection, enabling multi-sensory channels to be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard. The order of the interview may be controlled while still giving space for spontaneity, and the interviewer can press not only for complete answers but also for responses about complex and deep issues.

This study adopted a Labovian form of data collection, notably the use of sociolinguistic interviews. The latter includes a word list; questions concerning value judgements, exploring the social orientation of the respondent, and phrased as to elicit answers containing variable in question; and finally a reading passage (Labov 1972:13). By using a Labovian form of data collection, I was able to collect data for both the qualitative and quantitative research aspects of the study in one interview. Due to the aims of the study, two different interview schedules were developed: one for the black isiXhosa MT participants (see Appendix D), and one for the white English MT participants (see Appendix E). The interview schedule for the black isiXhosa MT participants focussed on language use, and attitudes to English and Xhosa culture. This schedule was designed to elicit language use patterns and changes in identity. The interview schedule for the white English MT participants was designed to elicit natural speech, to be used for comparative purposes in Chapter Four.

Dörnyei (2007:136) explains the benefit of semi-structured interviews by commenting that although 'there is a set of pre-prepared guiding questions and prompts, the format is open-ended and the interviewee is encouraged to elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner'. This is beneficial for sociolinguistic research, as it allows flexibility to pursue matters of interest to the participant, thus allowing for more relaxed and natural speech flow. In this study the use of semi-structured interviews allowed for an exploration of the feelings and attitudes of the participants and it allowed for the gathering of natural speech. Importantly, data necessary for both the qualitative and quantitative analysis could be gathered through a single semi-structured sociolinguistic interview.

Interview Schedule A (Appendix D) was used with the black isiXhosa MT participants. It was designed to elicit their attitudes and feelings towards language, as required for the qualitative part of the study. The schedule was divided into five broad categories of questions: biographical information, language in the home, language at school, language and culture, and finally, a word list. Due to the broadness of these categories, some of the questions overlapped which enabled the participants to either emphasize earlier points, or express interesting contradictions. In order to understand the participants' attitudes to a possible language shift, I asked questions to elicit whether language

usage differed from the home and school environments, and which language dominated in leisure time. Questions about culture and stereotypes sought to elicit attitudes towards the participant's cultural heritage, as well as their identity construction, and how this construction differed between the home and school environments. The questions also probed the participants' perceptions of the link between language and culture, the role of English in their lives, and the maintenance of isiXhosa within a South African context.

Interview Schedule B (Appendix E) was purposely designed to elicit natural speech of the white English MT participants, which was necessary for comparative purposes in the study. This group could be described as a type of acoustic control group, which, given the sociophonetic goals of the research, was necessary for comparative purposes. Interview Schedule B focused on questions about everyday school events, including dances, socials, experiences of boarding school, sport and school work. The phonetic data elicited from this interview schedule are presented section 4.2 of Chapter Four.

The participants' responses to the interviews were generally positive. The vast majority of the black isiXhosa MT students from both schools were very co-operative and engaged in an enthusiastic manner in the interviews. They seemed to appreciate the opportunity to engage with the content. Most of the white English MT participants from both schools were co-operative and also engaged enthusiastically in the interviews. Atypically, one of the participants seemed a bit suspicious of the interview process, while another was very shy. These setbacks however, did not compromise the quality of the data obtained through the interviews.

The interviews were digitally recorded using an Olympus DS-5000 digital voice recorder. The audio files were downloaded onto a TravelMate Acer notebook, and were later transcribed (see Appendix F).

3.8 Data analysis

3.8.1 Qualitative Data

I analysed the transcripts of the black isiXhosa MT participants according to four broad categories, aligned to those on the interview schedule (Appendix D). These are as follows: language in the home; language at school; language and culture, and language in the future. I looked for trends and

patterns of similarity and difference and anomalies in the data. The analysis was not as straightforward as I thought it would be, as responses to questions asked in one category often overlapped with those given in another category. The aim of the analysis was to consider how the participants' attitudes towards their MT and English affected their social and cultural identity when immersed in an English school environment.

3.8.2 Quantitative Data

According to Di Paolo, Yaeger-Dror & Beckford Wassink (2011:87), 'because listener perceptions are not accurate enough to permit a conscientious analyst to rely on his or her ear alone to accurately represent vowel quality or trajectory, instrumental phonetic analysis is a requisite for the sociophonetic study of vowels'. For this reason, the phonetic data in this study was analysed using the computer program Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2010). It was then normalised using the Watt & Fabricius normalisation method (Watt & Fabricius 2002), available on the website NORM (Thomas & Kendall 2007). Lastly, the findings were analysed using a statistical t-test (Cohen et al., 2011; Babbie & Mouton 2006; Fasold 1984; Butler 1985), which highlighted which variants were statistically significant. Each phase of data analysis will now be dealt with in turn.

❖ PRAAT analysis

Data from all 24 participants were considered in the quantitative analysis of this study. For the purposes of this study, Wells' (1982:127-166) standard lexical sets have been used to distinguish between the different vowels (see Appendix G for full set). Of interest to this study are the TRAP, DRESS and GOOSE vowels, in terms of their respective acoustic qualities. The said vowels from each participant were clipped, and analysed using the computer analysis programme, Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2010). Using Praat, each vowel sound was analysed in terms of its F_1 , F_2 and F_3 formants. This process enables an acoustic analysis of the vowel to be made, showing the placement of the vowel formants in the mouth, in terms of height and front or backness. The aim of this analysis was to help create an understanding of how the 24 participants differed acoustically, in terms of vowel pronunciations. It would also reveal whether any similarities and patterns formed within the data, possibly associated with MT language group or social class (represented by the two schools).

According to Ladefoged (2006:181), 'the quality of a vowel depends on its overtone structure... we distinguish one vowel from another by the differences in these overtones'. These overtone pitches are graphically represented in the acoustic analysis of vowels, in the three formants, F_1 , F_2 and F_3 (Ladefoged 2006:181). An acoustic analysis program, such as Praat, generates spectrograms.

Spectrograms are a display that show, 'roughly speaking, dark bands for each of the groups of overtone pitches in a sound' (Ladefoged 2006:185). In addition to the horizontal bands showing these pitches, the spectrogram also shows visible vertical lines. According to Ladefoged (2006:188), these vertical lines in the vowels are 'the result of the momentary increase of acoustic energy due to a single movement of the vocal folds'.

An important factor was taken into account after the initial Praat analysis. Di Paolo, Yaeger-Dror and Beckford Wassink (2011:87) contend:

Vowel tokens chosen for analysis in a sociophonetic study must be selected to control for phonetic conditioning. It is important to keep vowels in different phonetic environments separate during the initial stages of the analysis to discover which environments are more likely to be implicated in variation and change.

Di Paolo et al., (2011:88) go on to explain that phonetic environments to avoid include vowels preceding or following liquids or clusters, and when following nasals. For this reason, these phonetic environments were excluded from the data.

❖ Scatter graphs

Once Praat established values for F_1 , F_2 and F_3 , the scores were used to generate graphs on Excel, although F_3 was not utilised. As Ladefoged (2006:188) explains,

because the formant frequencies are inversely related to the traditional articulatory parameters, the axes have been placed so that zero frequency would be at the top right corner of the figure rather than at the bottom left corner, as is more usual in graphical representations. In addition, the frequencies have been arranged in accordance with the Bark scale, in which perceptually equal intervals of pitch are represented as equal distances along the scale. As a further refinement, because the second formant is not as prominent as the first formant (which, on average, has 80% of the energy in a vowel), the second formant is not as expanded as the first formant scale.

Scatter graphs were utilised in this study to illustrate the data. Changing the axis dimensions allowed the graphs to undergo a similar treatment to that used by Ladefoged. To achieve this, the axes of the graphs were altered: for the raw Hertz scores, the x-axis was changed so that its minimum value was fixed at 800, its maximum value fixed at 3000, the major unit fixed at 200 and the minor unit fixed at 40. The values were also changed to be shown in reverse order, and the vertical axis was changed to cross the y-axis at the maximum axis value. The same was done to the y-axis, except the minimum value was fixed at 300, the maximum value at 1100, the major units at 100 and the minor units at 40. For the normalised values, the x-axis was set with its maximum value at 2, its minimum value at 0.4, and its major and minor units at 0.2. The y-axis was set with its maximum value at 1.8, its minimum value at 0.4, and its major and minor units at 0.2. This allowed for the frequencies to be

arranged according to the Bark scale. While this graphic illustration provides a helpful representation of the phonetic quality of the vowels, Ladefoged (2006:205) warns that 'when two speakers pronounce sets of vowels with the same phonetic quality, the relative positions of these vowels on a formant chart will be similar, but the absolute values of the formant frequencies will differ from speaker to speaker'. To counteract this, the data was normalised.

❖ Normalisation

Watt, Fabricius and Kendall (2011:111) describe the process of normalisation as the 'factoring out of physical (i.e., acoustic) difference in vowel production resulting from anatomical differences between speakers'. They go on to explain that the 'major motivation for normalising data is that through normalisation data, one can directly and *quantitatively* compare speakers' and speaker groups' vowel productions with one another' (Watt et al., 2011:111).

There are a variety of different normalisation methods one can adopt (Watt & Fabricius 2002). This study adopts the Watt and Fabricius normalisation method, available on the NORM website (Thomas & Kendall 2007). Fabricius (2007:300) explains that the Watt and Fabricius procedure (otherwise known as the S-procedure), 'calculates each speaker's vowel space 'centre of gravity' or centroid *S*, using F_1 and F_2 values to represent the 'limits' of an individual's vowel space'. Watt and Fabricius (2002:159) explain the need to use F_1 and F_2 in the normalisation process:

F_1 has been shown to correlate inversely with the position of the highest part of the tongue body in the height dimension (open vowels have higher F_1 values than close vowels do), while F_2 is correlated with tongue frontness (front vowels have higher F_2 values than back vowels do, especially if back vowels are also rounded).

Watt and Fabricius (2002:161) describe their method as involving the calculation of the 'S transform'. This is 'calibrated from the $F_1 \sim F_2$ plane's 'centre of gravity' *S* by taking the grand mean of the mean F_1 and F_2 frequencies for points at the apices of a triangular plane which are assumed to represent F_1 and F_2 maxima and minima for the speaker in question' (Watt & Fabricius 2002:161).

Mesthrie (2010:9) provides further explanation of the Watt and Fabricius method:

In theory the centre point is the average of the highest front and back vowels and the lowest vowel- depending on the dialect this is usually [i: u: ʌ] or [i: u: æ]. However, since many English dialects do not have a back GOOSE anymore, Watt and Fabricius create a dummy high-back vowel (F_i , F_j), where the F_i is the F_1 value for FLEECE and F_j is *also* the F_1 value for FLEECE. We might call this the dummy GOOSE vowel.

This 'dummy GOOSE' is necessary for creating the points at the apices of the triangular plane, in order to establish the centroid *S* for each speaker, central to the normalisation process. The process

of establishing this triangular plane can be graphically illustrated in Figure 3.1 (Source: Watt & Fabricius 2002:164)

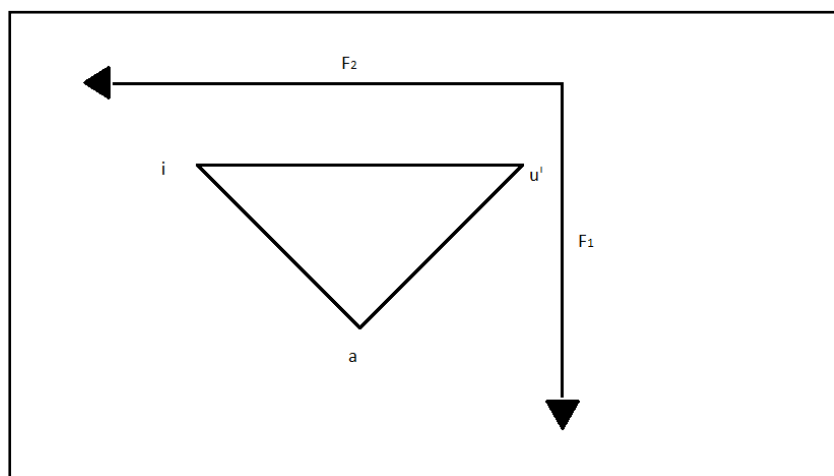


FIGURE 3.1: Schematised representation of the 'vowel triangle' used for calculation of S . $i = \min. F_1, \max. F_2$ (average $F_1 \sim F_2$ for FLEECE); $a = \max. F_1$ (average $F_1 \sim F_2$ for TRAP); $u' = \min. F_1, \min. F_2$, where $F_1(u')$ and $F_2(u') = F_1(i)$.

For a more detailed explanation of the procedure see Watt and Fabricius (2002:162-165).

❖ Statistical analysis: the t-test

After the normalisation process, the data was analysed using a statistical t-test to determine statistically significant findings. A t-test was particularly useful for analysing the phonetic data in this study, as it is best suited to small sample sizes (Butler 1985:83). According to Fasold (1984:98), the t-test is:

a parametric statistical test that tests whether the means of sets of scores from two samples are significantly different from each other. If they are not sufficiently different, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the two means could have come from two samples of the same population. If they are different enough, we are justified in concluding that the means are of samples from different populations.

The t-test is comprised of two different variants: the t-test for independent samples, and the t-test for related (or 'paired') samples (Cohen et al., 2011:642). The t-test for independent samples was utilised in this study. According to Cohen et al. (2011:642), this test 'assumes that one variable is categorical' (in this study, language group and school) and 'one is a continuous variable' (the phonetic scores from the Praat analysis). The formula used to calculate the statistic is as follows (Cohen et al., 2011:642):

$$t = \frac{\text{sample one mean} - \text{sample two mean}}{\text{standard error of the difference in means}}$$

An important aspect to consider when utilising a statistical test is the option to use a one-tailed or two-tailed test. The t-test used in this study utilises a one-tailed test. A one-tailed test yields a stronger result than a two-tailed test, 'as it makes assumptions about the population and the direction of the outcome, and hence, if supported, is more powerful than a two-tailed test' (Cohen et al., 2011:610). Furthermore, a one-tailed test is used with a directional hypothesis, which, according to Cohen et al. (2011:610), 'indicates 'more' or 'less', whereas the non-directional hypothesis [used in two-tailed tests] indicates only difference, and not where the difference may lie'.

Once the statistical equation was generated by the t-test, statistical significance was determined. According to Babbie and Mouton (2006:481), the statistical significance of a relationship observed in a set of sample data is 'expressed in terms of probabilities'. Most research reports use three different levels of significance, 0.05, 0.01 and 0.001 (Babbie & Mouton 2006:481). This study bases significance at level 0.05. This level means that 'if we can show that the hypothesis is not supported for 95% of the population, then we have demonstrated that there is a statistically significant relationship between the two aspects of comparison at the 0.05 level of significance' (Cohen et al., 2011:613).

The following four categories were considered in the t-test: private English MT speakers versus private isiXhosa MT speakers; model-C English MT speakers versus model-C isiXhosa MT speakers; private isiXhosa MT speakers versus model-C isiXhosa speakers; and finally, private English MT speakers versus model-C English MT speakers. A tabulated summary of these tests can be found in section 4.2 of Chapter Four.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has described and justified the research orientation and methods used in the study. It has stated the research goals of the study, namely to investigate, with a view to understanding, socio-cultural change in two prestigious secondary school environments, from a phonetic viewpoint. It has provided an explanation and rationalization of the adoption of a mixed methods research orientation. It has also described the research site and access to the schools. Participants, and the associated ethical issues of including children in research, have been discussed and addressed. Data collection and data analysis methods have been described and justified. A summary of the key variables in the study has been provided.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

4.1 Qualitative findings

The qualitative findings presented in this section are of an attitudinal analysis of isiXhosa MT speakers, conducted as part of a preliminary study to this research in 2009 (Wilmot 2009). For this reason, all mention of participants in this section refers only to the black isiXhosa MT participants of the study. The structure of the discussion is as follows: language use in the home; language use at school; language and culture; effects of English schooling; and language for the future. The discussion will consider School A (private) and School B (hmodel-C) alternatively, and will then illuminate any patterns or anomalies which (if any) emerge. The emergent attitudes to language will be considered in relation to changes in identity construction in Chapter Five.

4.1.1 Language in the home

School A

All of the participants use primarily isiXhosa in their homes. Four of the participants said that English is also used at times. All participants indicated that English was learnt at approximately the age of four as a result of going to an English pre-primary or crèche. None of the participants indicated that their parents mind them using English in the home, the exception being, when they visit relatives in rural locations or are around people who do not understand English, they must use isiXhosa. One participant indicated that this includes speaking isiXhosa when in public, as can be seen in the following quote:

'So let's say I'm talking to him (her father) when we are in a shop and everything he would prefer me to speak to him in Xhosa but then if it's just me and him you know we talking about something that we have to talk about in English, then it's cool but he prefers me to stick to my mother tongue. But like it's not like a big issue, my mom doesn't mind, she's completely fine with it, but I think around elders, even though no one will say anything, but it's just.... in a way seen as disrespect if for example my uncle's going to be sitting here and maybe at the rural areas you know... it's going to be rude and offensive if my sister and I go on and on you know speaking English'.

One participant indicated that her mother encourages her to speak only isiXhosa to her baby brother, as due to growing up in Johannesburg and East London suburbia, he is unable to speak his MT. None of the participants felt that English was forced on them in any way. All of the participants stated that it is imperative to learn English, as it is a global language. This attitude can be illustrated in the following quote:

'The way the world is developing there almost isn't room for culture, and the whole push for technology and that only requires you to know English, so if you go anywhere outside of South Africa you won't need Xhosa at all'.

School B

All of the participants use primarily isiXhosa in their homes. Three of the participants said that at times, English is also used. All participants indicated that English was learnt at approximately the age of four as a result of going to an English pre-primary or crèche. None of the participants indicated that their parents mind them using English. One participant indicated that her grandfather encourages her to speak English, as he can understand and speak it- an ability of which he is proud. None of the participants felt that English was forced on them at any stage of their life. One participant indicated that learning English was the starting point for a better education, and therefore a better life. All participants agreed that English is very important to learn, as it is a global language.

4.1.2 Language at school

School A

All of the participants speak predominantly English at school. IsiXhosa is spoken in Xhosa class, and when participants are in a Xhosa-only social group. This does not occur very often however, due to the demographics of the school. As illustrated in Chapter One (see Figure 1.1 and 1.3), School A comprises of only 14% black students, of which, only 51% are isiXhosa MT speakers. Three participants indicated that their friendship groups are mixed, one participant said that her friends are mainly black participants, but not necessarily Xhosa, and two participants indicated their friends are mainly isiXhosa MT speakers. Four participants indicated that they relate better to Xhosa people, while one indicated that she is often 'put off' by Xhosa people, as they are often 'too loud'. All of the participants indicated that the different cultures, language and racial groups mix easily on campus. All participants indicated that language patterns in the boarding house (all participants are boarders⁵) are the same as at school. All of the participants indicated that they watch primarily American series in their free time, such as *Gossip Girl*, *Grey's Anatomy* and *Beverly Hills 90210*.

School B

All of the participants speak predominantly English at school, but indicated that they will speak isiXhosa whenever the opportunity presents itself, although it is against school policy to speak in isiXhosa during school hours. The opportunities to do this are far greater than at School A, due to the demographics. As illustrated in Chapter One (see Figure 1.2 and 1.4), School B comprises of 71% black students, of which 98% are isiXhosa MT students. Three participants indicated that they have

⁵ 'Boarders' refers to students who live in the residential facilities of the school during term time.

mixed friendship groups, while three have mainly isiXhosa speakers as friends. Five of the participants indicated that they relate better to Xhosa people. Three participants indicated that the different cultures, language and racial groups mix easily, and three thought they did not, but that the segregation was 'natural'. The participants who are boarders indicate that the boarding house is primarily made up of isiXhosa speakers, therefore the participants speak primarily isiXhosa in this context. Most of the participants indicated that they watch South African soap operas in their free time, including, for example, Isidingo, Generations, 7de Laan and Scandal. Code-switching is utilised in these programmes, and include a variety of South African languages.

4.1.3 Language and culture

School A

All six participants indicated that they are proud of their Xhosa culture, although four participants did acknowledge that some aspects do not make them proud. These ranged from traditional beer to the tradition of circumcision. Three participants indicated that their families do not practice any of the cultural traditions. One participant, who indicated that Xhosa culture does make her feel proud, explains:

Ya it's more like even if you go somewhere and you're like totally you're like fine... you don't know anyone, but I guess it it's like that for everyone, you find comfort in like other Xhosa people cause you know you've got a group, you belong, whatever the case may be, you you know you've got this group that you belong to.

The major differences indicated between English and Xhosa culture were how Xhosa people view their families, issues of respect, the practicing of traditions, Xhosa people having stronger values and beliefs and how Xhosa people generally have a higher level of self-respect. This is illustrated in the following quote:

'Like when we talk about like you know, wearing bikinis and all that stuff with us it's not like you wouldn't go to the beach in like you know like rock up in a bikini or like, if like just a bikini, you would have to wear something more to cover you'.

One participant did indicate that it would depend on how you were raised, as she has friends who live in Johannesburg who have not been raised with any Xhosa cultural influence, and who do not know how to speak isiXhosa. When asked about the general public⁶ perception of Xhosa people, participants indicated that 'loud' is an attribute commonly associated with isiXhosa speakers, as well

⁶ 'Public' was specifically left open and vague in the interview schedule, in order to elicit any potential personal bias. The vast majority of the participants interpreted 'public' to be white people's perceptions.

as liars, as being rude, having an attitude, and thinking they are better than others. One participant felt that South Africa is generally quite open and accepting of different cultures, whilst another participant thought that people belittle Xhosa culture, and do not pay it the respect it deserves. One participant mentioned that through her contact with other cultures at school, she has learnt that other African cultures admire Xhosa culture. She explains:

'Other people like from Ghana, they respect Xhosa culture so much because for them, the upper class doesn't like associating itself with the lower class, whereas with Xhosa people, we are proud of our traditions and traditional way of life and stuff like that'.

The negative prejudices are worrying for all participants, but most of them dismiss them and do not let them affect their lives.

School B

Three of the participants indicated that they are proud of their Xhosa culture, as it gives them a sense of meaning to their lives, and provides a strong moral grounding. They also indicated that you need to know where you are from in order to move forward in life. One participant explained this attitude in the following:

I'm proud to be a Xhosa person, and having a family that is quite traditional. Because it, in this changing world, most people don't really care anymore about their ancestors and stuff, so to keep it going and to teach your children about things is important to me, so they need to be educated about the past in order to deal with future... my culture affects my life in a positive way.

Three participants, while indicating that they are proud of Xhosa culture, admitted there are some aspects of it which they describe as 'shady' and which they do not relate to. The major difference indicated between Xhosa culture and English culture are relationships between people, in terms of relationships with members of the opposite sex, and the treatment of elders. An example given was in the manner of speaking to an older person, such as a mother. The participant indicated that in traditional Xhosa homes, causal speech will not be tolerated. She explains:

'Communication, ya, like when I'm, well with me it's chilled cause you know I say whatever in front of my parents, obviously I don't swear or anything but it's like you know it will be like "ya ya that's chilled", my mom will get what I'm trying to say. But back in the days in some families you can't be like "ya mom that's chilled", you know?'

When asked about the public perception of Xhosa people, some participants indicated that white people often assume isiXhosa speakers to be uneducated, crime instigators, loud and rural. One participant also indicated that if something is accomplished by an isiXhosa speaker, then it has to be 'proven twice'. For example, she suggests that if a Xhosa person had to invent some new form of technology, it would first have to be tested by a white/English person before it was recognised. She

also said that English professionals are immediately assumed to have more credibility, suggesting that people (in general, herself included) would feel more comfortable going to a 'Doctor George' instead of a doctor with a Xhosa name. These negative prejudices are worrying for all participants, but most of them dismiss them and do not let them affect their lives.

4.1.4 Effect of English schooling

School A

Two of the participants indicated that being in an English school environment has not negatively affected their Xhosa language or culture, because they are still taking Xhosa as an academic subject. Four, however, indicated that it has negatively impacted, in that it has allowed them to forget aspects. All participants indicated that the maintenance of a person's MT is a personal endeavour, and it is ultimately a personal choice whether or not to let the 'Englishness' get to you. None of the participants seemed particularly worried about the emphasis being placed on English.

Five of the participants indicated that their speech is negatively judged by other isiXhosa speakers, outside of their school network. The one participant who is not so negatively evaluated by others said it is because she still has an isiXhosa accent when speaking isiXhosa. The other participants are however, criticized because of their 'English' accents. One participant who is judged says that she can't blame them for judging her because she knows that she has let parts of her culture slip. Another participant indicated that although she gets mocked, most of the judgement is reserved for her little brother who cannot speak his MT at all, and thus, she feels, qualifies as a 'coconut'. This, she feels is due to the fact that the family moved into a wealthy Johannesburg suburb, where isiXhosa is not imperative for social networking. One of the participants indicated that it is very annoying when she gets judged for speaking English to her English friends (either on the phone or at a shopping mall), as they cannot understand isiXhosa, therefore she has no other option. Another participant said that people judge her for *'speaking as though my nose is blocked because of my English accent from school'*. All of the participants are unaffected by the judgements however, because they are happy with the personal choices they have made, and value English enough to endure it.

Five participants indicated that the label 'coconut' is a negative marker of identity. They do show quite a relaxed stance to it, saying that it is unnecessary rather than outright wrong. One participant indicated that she does not appreciate the term 'coconut', because she believes it is the parents, not

the child's fault that he/she has been brought up that way, therefore it is unfair to label and judge the child. A participant who holds a similar view added that it is very different when someone does know their language and culture, but actively dismisses and downplays it. This, she feels, could be accurately described as being a 'coconut'. One participant indicated that she feels it is not a negative term, but more an indication that the person really likes English. While she does not have a problem with this, she does indicate that one should always try to maintain their MT, but if they do not, it is generally not their fault, but the way they were raised. Only one participant from School A indicated that the term 'coconut' is used in a light-hearted manner amongst close friends, who do not mean it in a derogatory way. However, she does add that it is offensive to label others using the term.

School B

Three participants indicated that being in an English school environment has impacted negatively on their Xhosa language and culture, while three participants said that it has not. Those who claimed it did not, did so because they believe maintenance to be a personal endeavour, independent of a person's context. Those who claimed it is negatively impacting them explained that being in an English environment makes you not care about your cultural and linguistic shortcomings, as these are made redundant in the English environment. Examples include counting in isiXhosa and being able to say the months of the year, which none of the participants were able to do. Participants also indicated that scientific advancements have disproved some theories which Xhosa culture is based on, which in turn makes them start questioning and doubting the validity of their culture. One participant indicated that while English has negatively impacted on her Xhosa culture, this is not necessarily a bad thing, as she feels that Xhosa culture needs to change with the times. One participant did indicate that the elders consider her generation to be the 'bad generation' who are losing their culture. While she maintains that she still identifies strongly with her culture, she does acknowledge that '*cracks are starting to show*' in that she is willing to do things which would be prohibited in Xhosa culture. Such an example would be wearing skirts above her knee, which would be regarded as unacceptable in her home context. Another participant indicated a concern with the emphasis being placed on English:

'I feel like I feel what's happening with this generation, with Xhosa people, like the teens are getting too like sucked up by you know the western life, you know, you know cause I find some people they find it so offensive you know. Like often I've come across people and it was really surprising me like in, I think it was in grade ten, and some famous DJ guy singing person was here in Grahamstown and his car was parked like here, like right by the school and so all the girls basically wanted to go and say hi and everything. And I remember like one of them was like, 'Ya remember now, like speak proper English you know, English only'. And I remember thinking, 'What?', because the guy he's Xhosa, he's black, and it was like ok it its sort of like now ok why you impressing me here with your English and stuff you know?'

Five of the participants indicated that their speech is negatively evaluated by other isiXhosa speakers. The one participant who is not negatively judged claims this is because she consciously changes her accent when she returns home to avoid this judgment. One of the participants who is negatively critiqued indicated that she ignores the comments because she is not only learning English in her school, but is also furthering her knowledge of isiXhosa by taking it as a subject. Another participant indicated that she is unaffected by the mocking because she knows that she can speak isiXhosa as well as they can, which makes her feel more knowledgeable than them, as she is proficient in two languages instead of only her MT.

All of the participants regard the term 'coconut' as highly offensive. One participant indicated that while it is a harsh term, she has always been around people who are in a similar situation, therefore she says it is easy to ignore people and get on with your life with other friends who are experiencing the same thing. Another participant indicated that it is not fair to judge the personal choices made by speakers. One participant labelled 'coconut' as a '*bulldust term*' and said that she tells the people making the judgment that they '*can just go jump*', and indicated that it makes her very angry, as she does not understand why people feel they have the right to judge the choices of others they do not necessarily know. One participant indicated that the term is harsh because it makes you seem inferior, which is unfair, as one should not be defined according to their manner of speech. Another participant explains what she thinks is the reason why people negatively judge others:

'It's more a case of I can't have that and you know, I don't see why you should have that, why must you be better than me type of thing'.

4.1.5 Language in the future

School A

Five participants indicated that English will be more beneficial to them in the future. A participant explains:

'English will be more beneficial because it is spoken world-wide, like I can go to England and communicate there, whereas I can't go to other countries and break out in Xhosa'.

One participant said that it would depend on her job. All six participants said that isiXhosa will be used in the home and social contexts, and all six participants hope to raise their children as isiXhosa speakers, but bilingual in English as well.

School B

All six participants indicated that English will be more beneficial for them in the future. A participant explains:

'I mean the fact is you know English is the like main language of communication throughout the world. So ya, it's all good to be proud of where you're from you know, but the reality is that we, I don't live in that kind of world 'cause when I'm done with my matric I'm not going to go back into the rural areas and then like you know just stay around there and do nothing all day'.

The majority of participants indicated that they will continue to use isiXhosa in the home and social contexts. Four of the participants indicated that they hope to raise their children as isiXhosa speakers, while all of the participants indicated that their children will have to learn English from an early age.

4.1.6 Synthesis of qualitative findings

What has emerged from the responses is as follows: the participants from the two schools indicate a similar use of language in the home but differences emerged between language use at school. Due to the demographics of School A, where Xhosa participants are in the minority, isiXhosa is spoken less than those participants at School B. It is also made apparent that for all participants, English is a valued language, as it symbolises a modern and globalised world. It is also seen as a vehicle to access international domains. From the responses, it would appear that integration is better and more natural at School A than School B, but participants from both schools indicated mixed friendship groups. Participants from both schools indicated positive attitudes towards their Xhosa language and culture. While some do acknowledge that they are forgetting some aspects of it, due to being in an English environment, none seem overly concerned about it. What is made apparent, for participants of both schools, is as they mature and become more educated, their beliefs are constantly being self-evaluated and questioned, which potentially makes them identify less with their culture. It is also made apparent by participants from both schools that the maintenance of one's MT and culture is a personal endeavour, and is therefore a choice a person makes. A common theme which arose, however, is that blame is often laid on the parents of children who do not know their language and culture, rather than on the child itself. Many participants from both schools, however, do acknowledge that aspects of their language and culture are slipping.

The vast majority of participants from both schools indicated that their speech is judged when they return home, or are around peers from outside of their school. However, none of the participants let this mockery affect them, as they are happy with the choices they have made, and feel the benefits

of being in an English school are worth it. They also indicated that the mockery is often as a result of envy of other people of their educational success. The majority of participants from both schools indicated that the label 'coconut' is an offensive term, and none of them classify themselves as one. They are comfortable with the choices they have made and the way they speak, and all of the participants are still proficient in their MT, therefore they do not feel that they fit the criteria for a 'coconut'.

All of the participants from both schools indicated that they value their MT language, isiXhosa. All were in agreement that you need to maintain isiXhosa in order to pass the culture down to future generations. The majority of participants indicated that isiXhosa will be maintained and used in the home and social environments. All of the participants from both schools indicated that English will be beneficial to them in the future, in terms of their goals and social aspirations. While many participants from both schools indicated that isiXhosa is declining in South Africa, especially in urban areas in which they reside, none seemed overly concerned about this.

4.2 Quantitative findings

In order to examine how speakers could be characterised in terms of accent, three salient vowels of SAE were chosen for close analysis: GOOSE [u:], TRAP [æ] and DRESS [e]. GOOSE is an interesting vowel to analyse, as recent studies in South Africa have shown significant changes in variation, in terms of middle-class speakers (see for example, Mesthrie 2010, Bekker 2009, Da Silva 2008 and Bekker & Eley 2007). For this reason, the findings of this study can be used for comparative purposes. The TRAP and DRESS vowels are of interest, as they represent older prestigious norms (in WSAE) of vowel raising (Lass 1995), and newer variables of lowering (Mesthrie, in press). The TRAP, DRESS and GOOSE vowels of all 24 participants were analysed in PRAAT. These raw scores then underwent a normalisation process, in order to best represent their respective acoustic positions and properties for comparative purposes. The normalised scores were then compared statistically, using a t-test to highlight which, if any, differences were statistically significant. Due to the length constraints of this dissertation, the number of vowel variables considered, as well as the detail of the presentation of phonetic findings is limited. The extreme vowels, produced in word list style, were used for the normalisation process. The findings for the GOOSE, TRAP and DRESS vowels were based on those vowels produced in natural speech during the sociolinguistic interview.

4.2.1 Normalisation

In order for the normalisation process to take place, a speaker's extreme vowels need to be considered in order to determine the highest, lowest, frontest and most back articulatory positions of the respective speaker's mouth. To provide an example of this process, Figure 4.1-4.8 depict graphs illustrating two speakers' extreme vowels, in word list style, from each demographic group concerned in the study. Raw hertz scores are shown. These scores were later normalised to factor out physiological differences between the speakers.

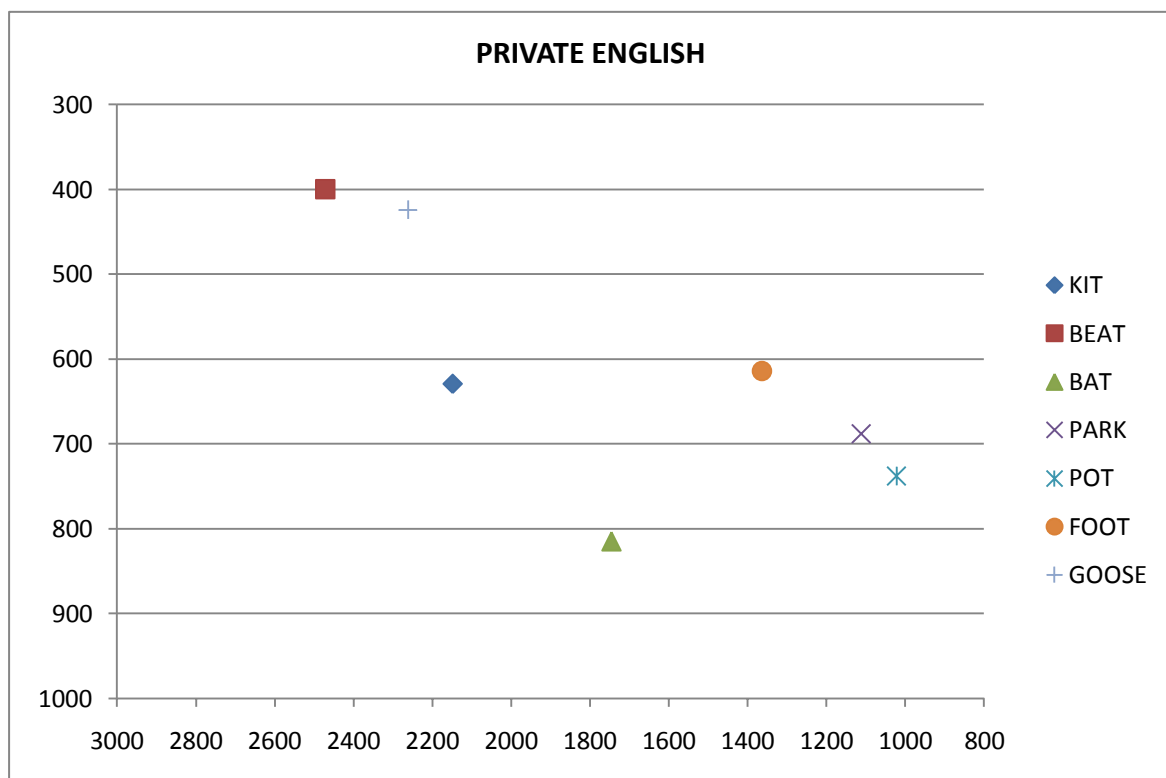


FIGURE 4.1: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Victoria⁷, an English MT speaker from School A

⁷ Pseudonyms have been used for all speakers, for anonymity.

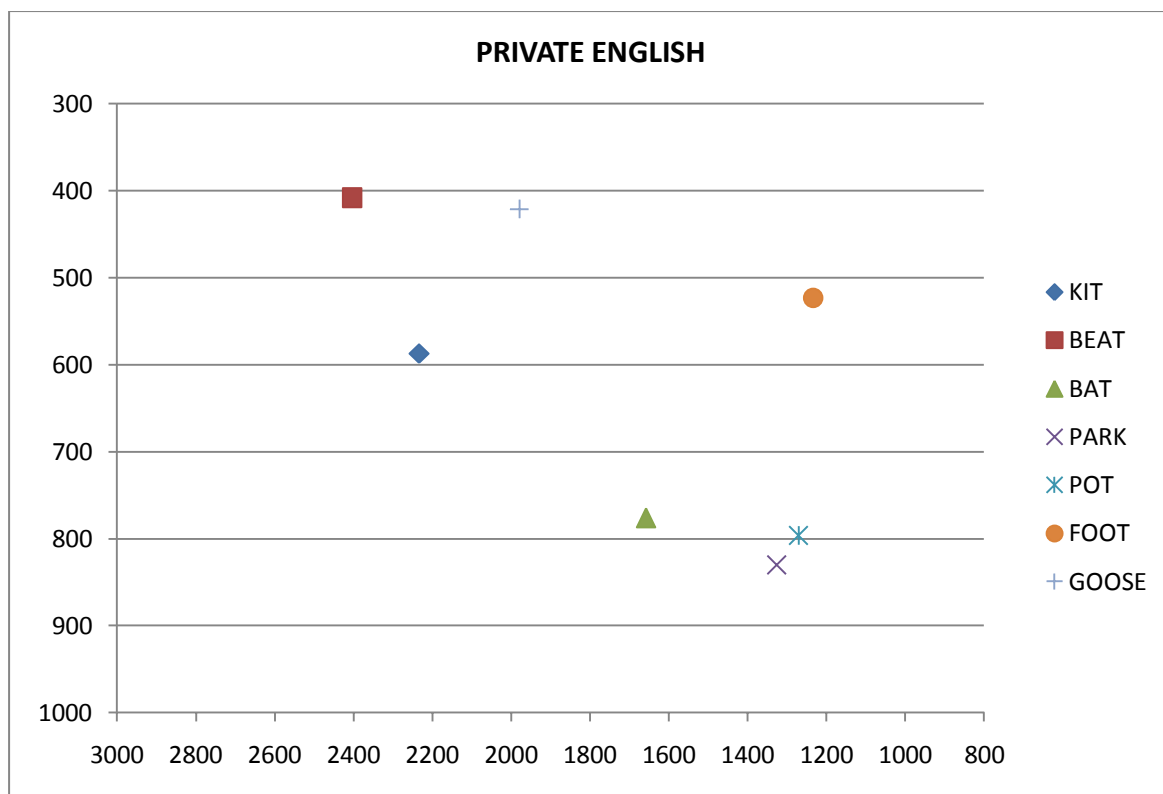


FIGURE 4.2: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Andrea, an English MT speaker from School A

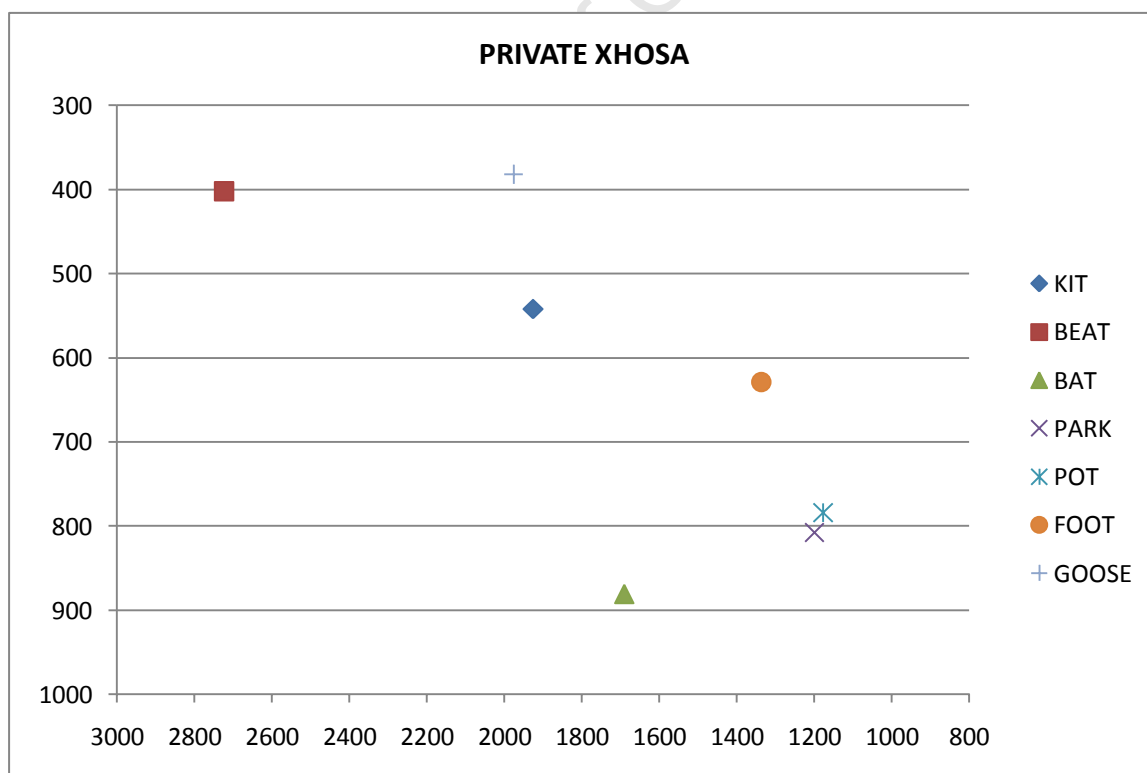


FIGURE 4.3: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Anathi, an isiXhosa MT speaker from School A

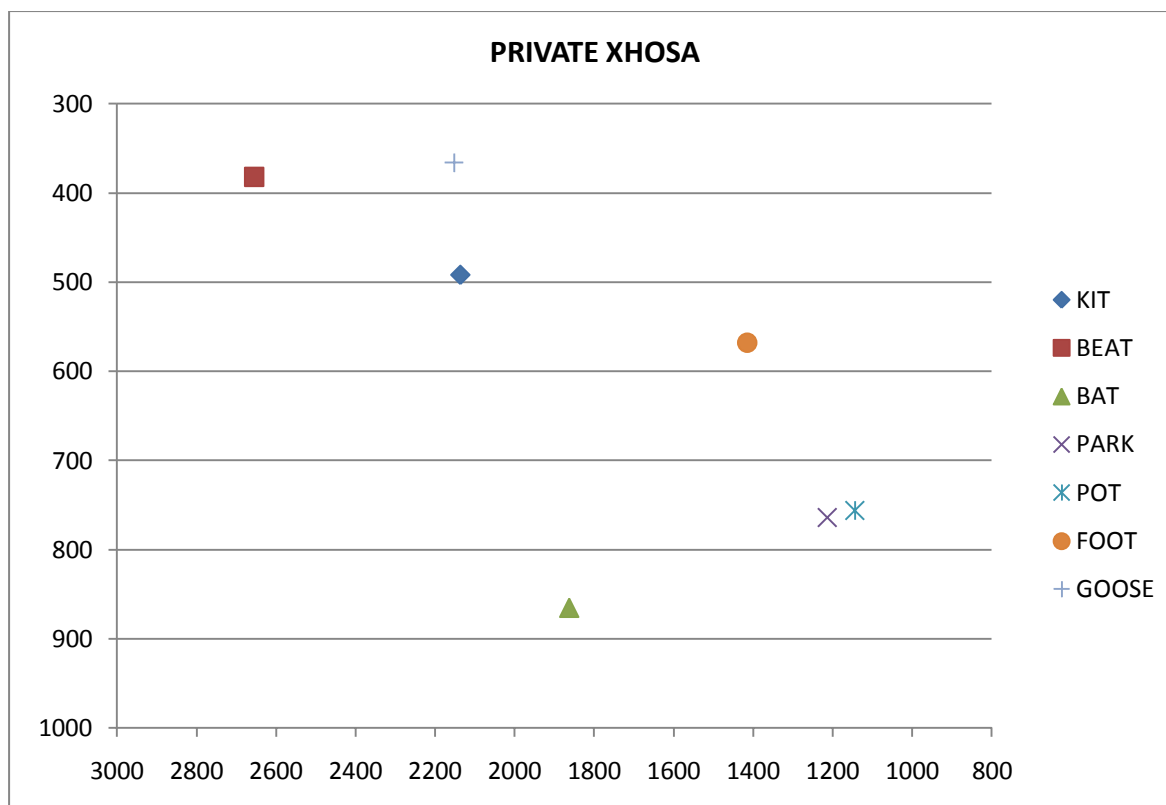


FIGURE 4.4: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Sinazo, an isiXhosa MT speaker from School A

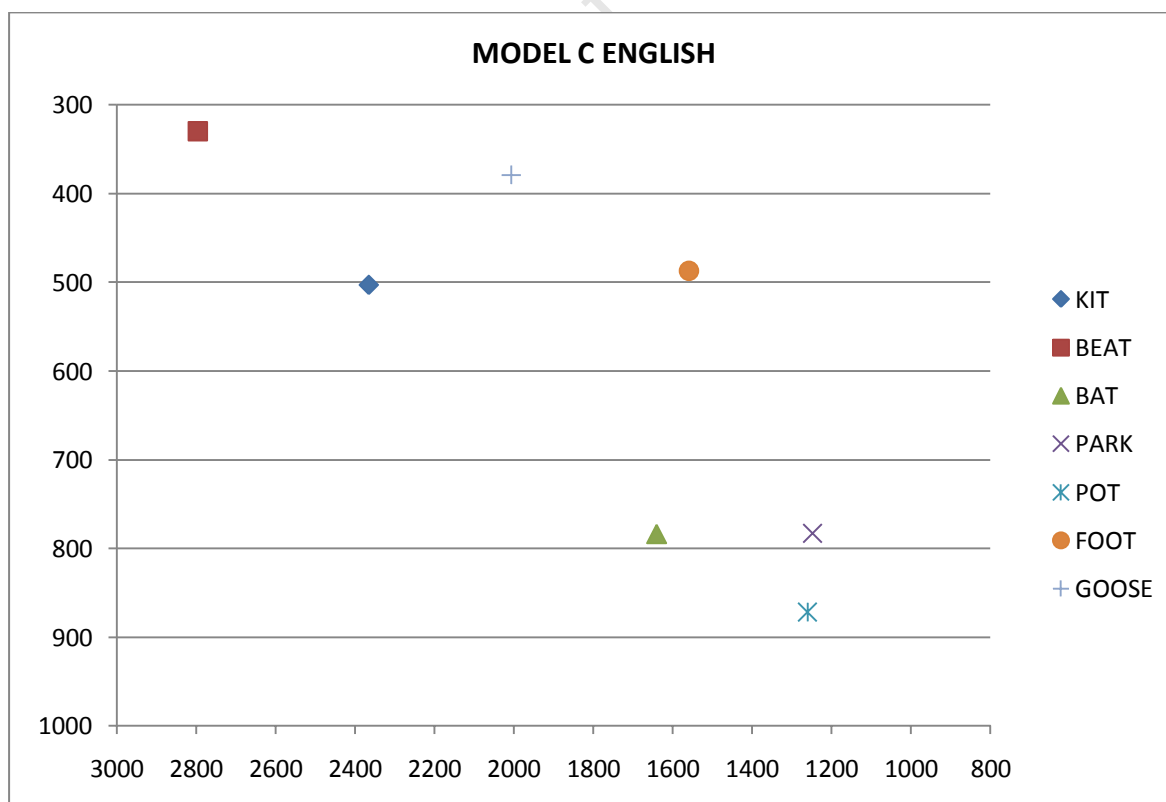


FIGURE 4.5: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Amanda, an English MT speaker from School B

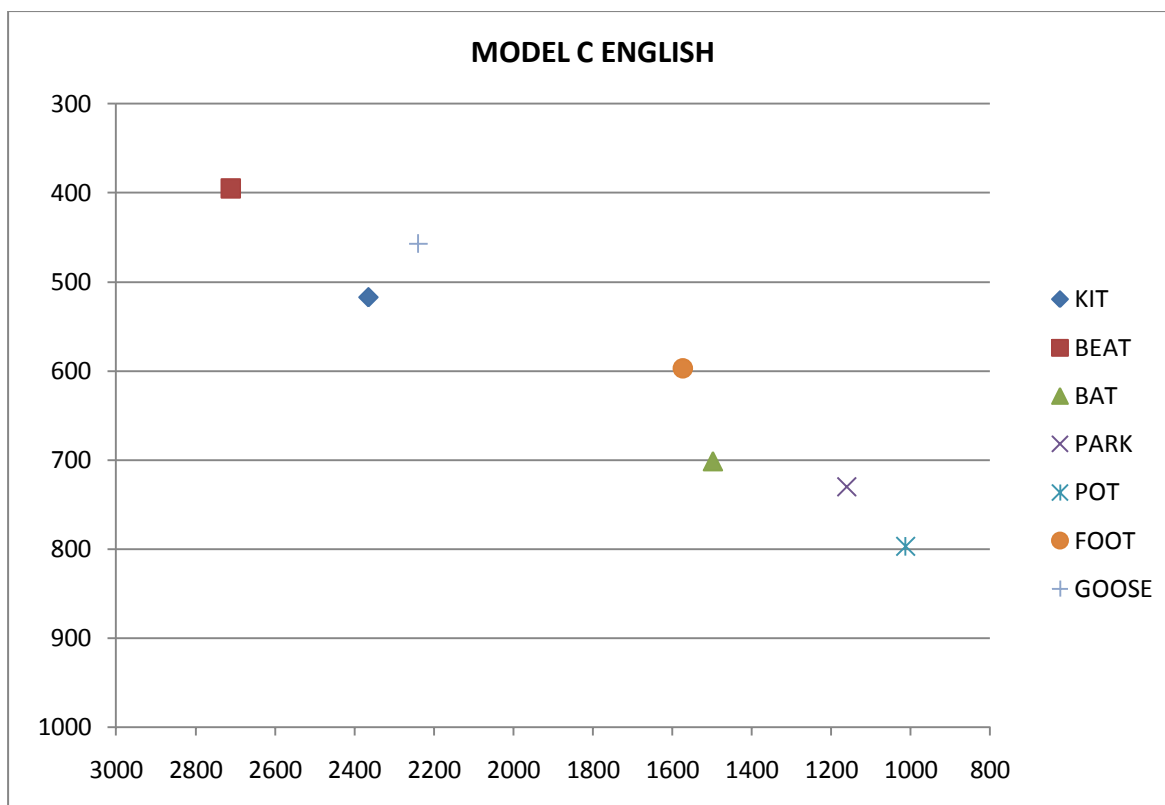


FIGURE 4.6: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Lauren, an English MT speaker from School B

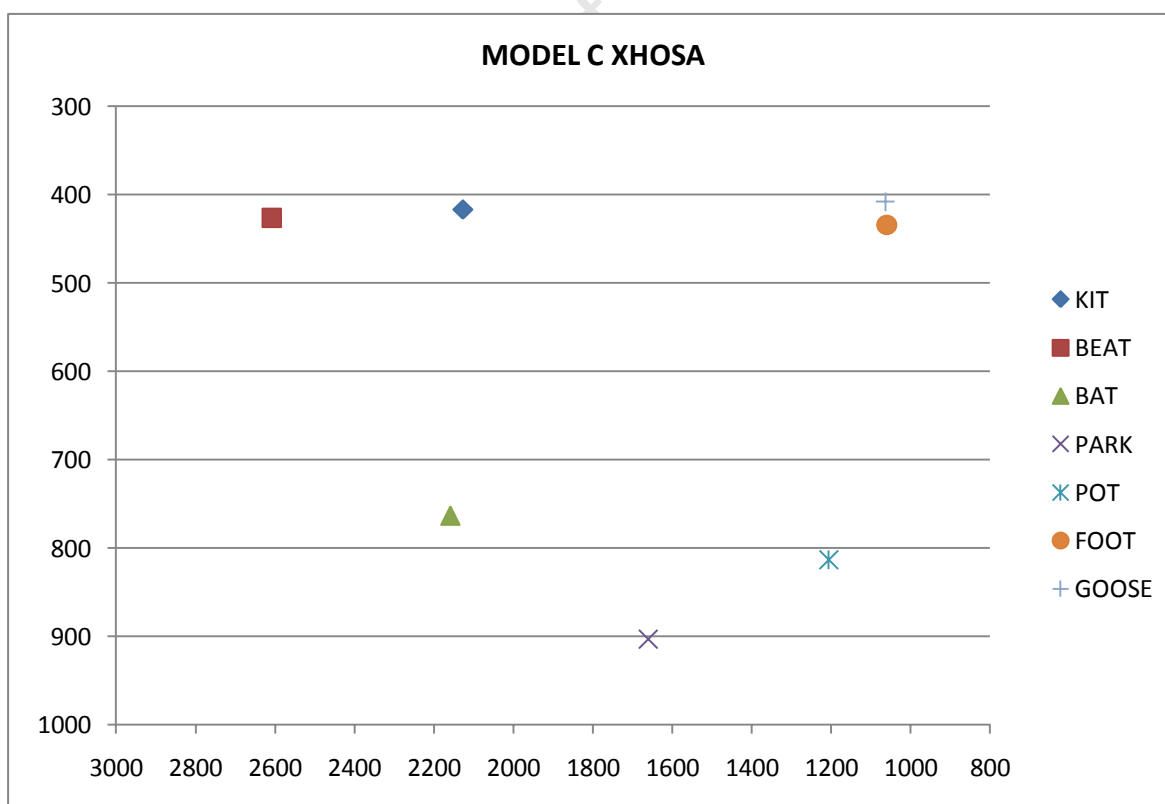


FIGURE 4.7: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Asanda, an isiXhosa MT speaker from School B

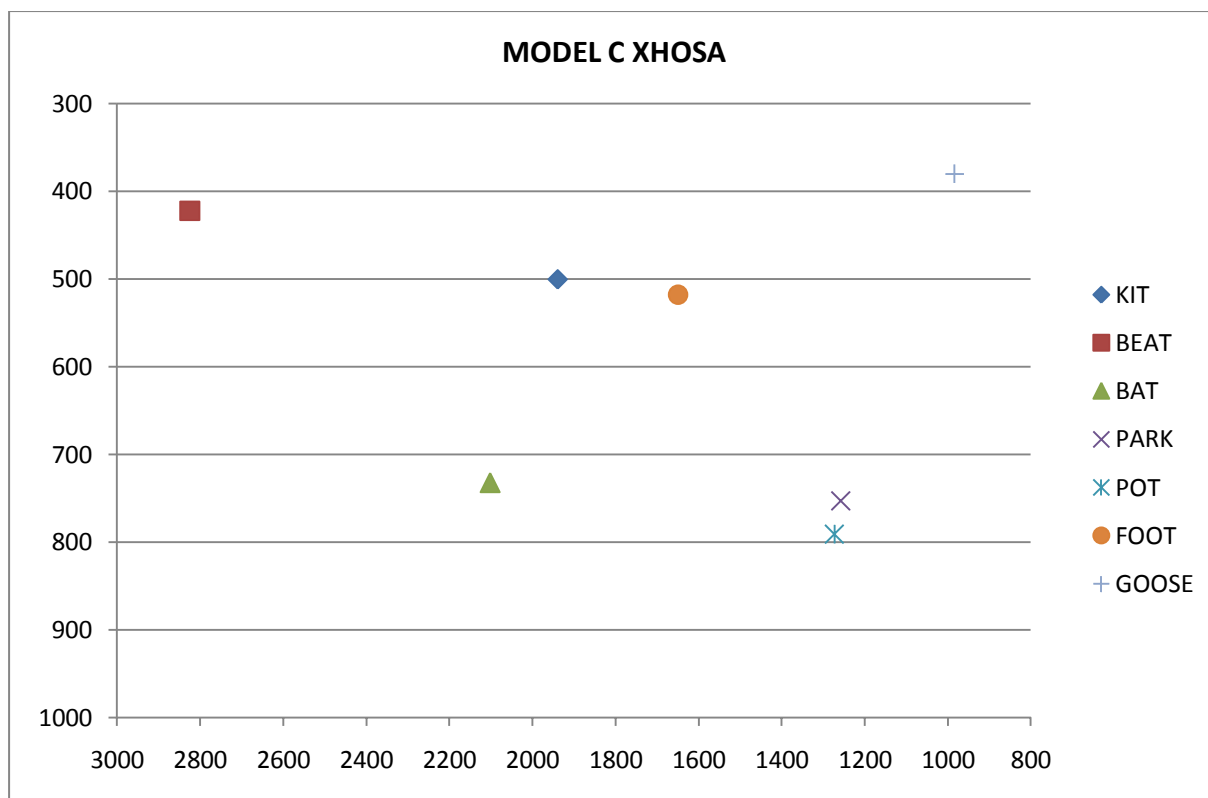


FIGURE 4.8: Graph illustrating extreme vowels of Olwetho, an isiXhosa MT speaker from School B

As can be seen from the above figures, variation between speakers and between the different demographic groups does exist. The normalisation process, however, allows for all speakers to be equally compared and contrasted. The findings will now present the individual results for the three vowels of concern- GOOSE, TRAP and DRESS.

4.2.2 GOOSE

The GOOSE findings have been grouped into three different phonetic environments. For this reason, the findings for GOOSE vowels after coronals (GOOSEc), non-coronals (GOOSEnc) and j-words (GOOSEj) are treated separately. All vowels which were preceded or followed by liquids and those following nasals are excluded from the data, as these are considered problematic phonetic environments as they negatively affect the vowel quality (Di Paolo et al., 2011:88). These include words such as *loose*, *school*, *mood* and *fool*.

❖ GOOSEc

All speakers were analysed according to their realisation of the GOOSEc vowel. Examples of this vowel can be found in words such as *do*, *two* and *issues*. The GOOSEc vowels for each speaker group show significant variation. Figures 4.9-4.12 illustrate the complete token spread of this vowel for each speaker group. As can be seen on the graphs, each speaker group forms a cluster group within a particular acoustic region. The private English MT speakers (illustrated in Figure 4.9) form a cluster group which indicates a high front GOOSEc vowel. The private isiXhosa MT speakers (illustrated in Figure 4.10) form a cluster group indicating the realisation of a GOOSEc vowel which is high central-to-front in acoustic region. The English MT speakers from the model-C school indicate a similar cluster group to that of the English MT speakers from the private school, but also include some outlying backer realisations. The model-C isiXhosa MT speakers form a cluster group which indicates a high central-to-back GOOSEc vowel. Initial viewing of the graphs indicates that this group is producing a backer GOOSEc vowel than the isiXhosa MT speakers from the private school.

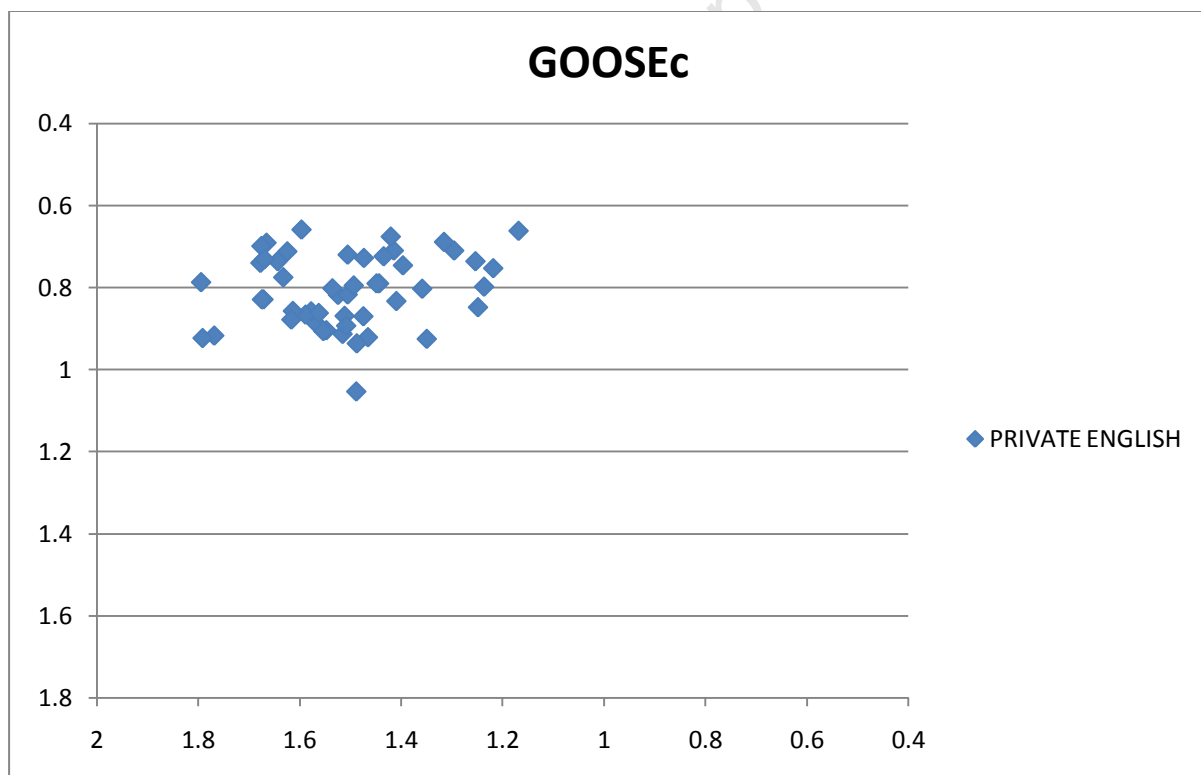


FIGURE 4.9: Graph illustrating token spread for GOOSEc for all private English speakers

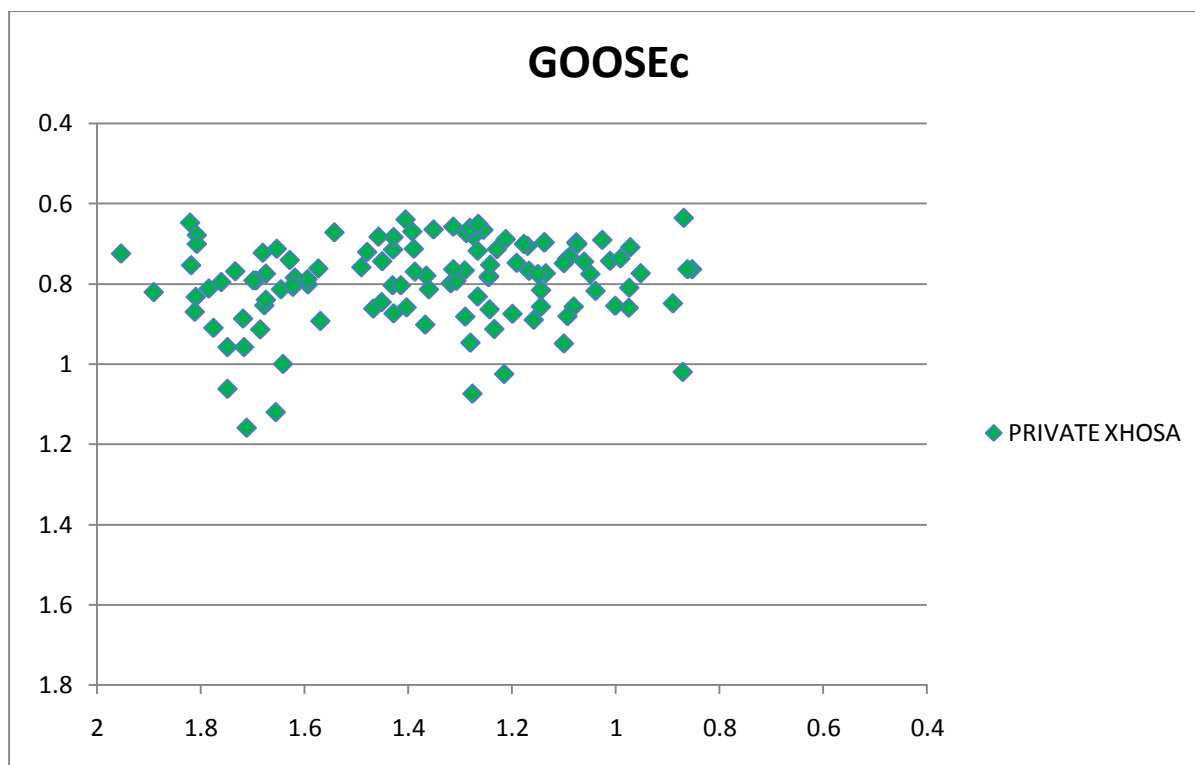


FIGURE 4.10: Graph illustrating token spread for GOOSEc for all private isiXhosa speakers

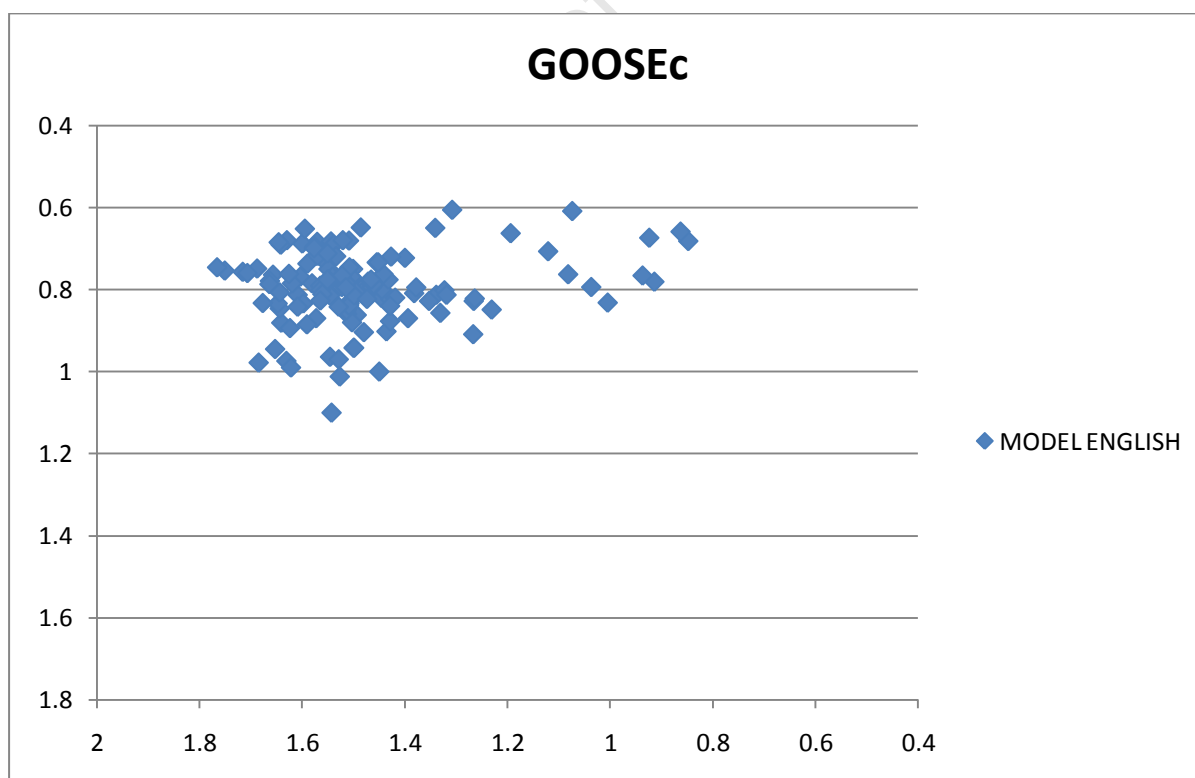


FIGURE 4.11: Graph illustrating token spread for GOOSEc for all model-C English speakers

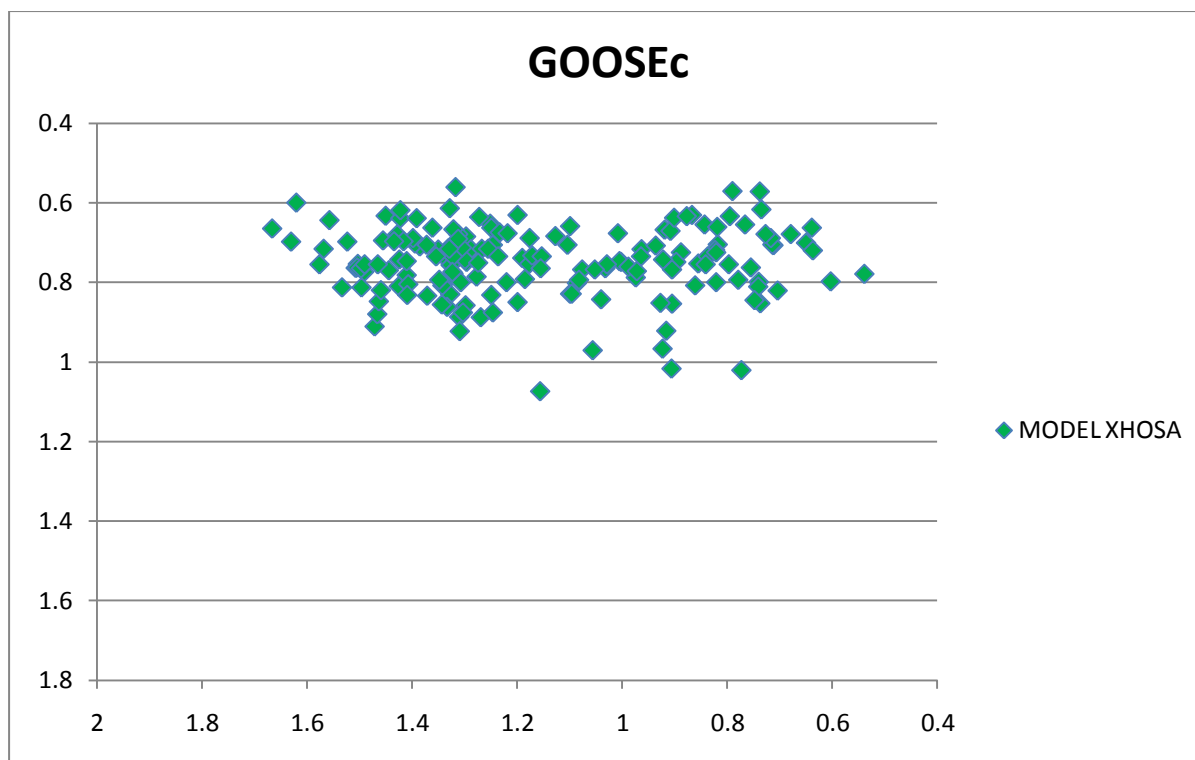


FIGURE 4.12: Graph illustrating token spread for GOOSEc for all model-C isiXhosa speakers

In order to gain insight of how the speaker groups relate or differ in terms of their realisation of the GOOSEc vowel, the token spreads of all the speaker groups were averaged out. These averaged scores aid the analysis in terms of making comparisons, and they allow for statistical significance testing to be carried out. The averaged scores are compared in Figure 4.13.

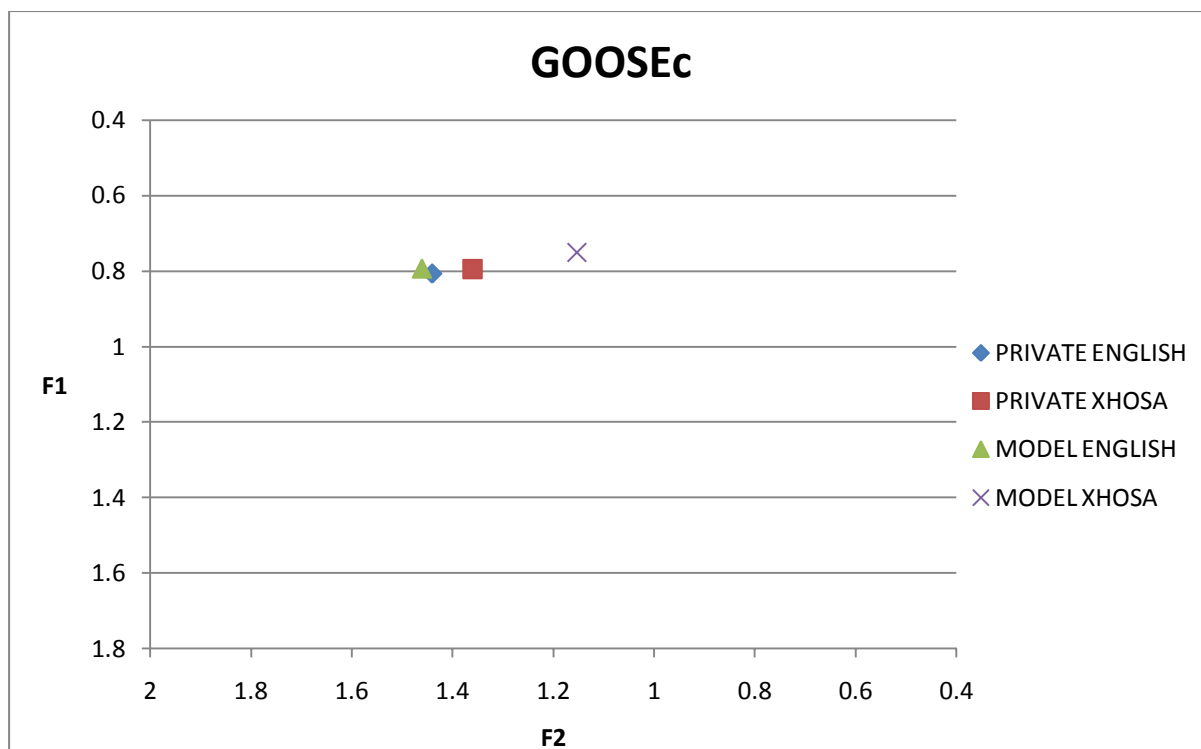


FIGURE 4.13: Graph illustrating GOOSEc vowel averages for all speakers

As can be seen in Figure 4.13, variation between speakers is considerable. It is also evident that three main groupings form for the GOOSEc vowel: the first one appears to consist of the two English MT speaker groups, the second consists of the private isiXhosa MT speaker group, and the third is made up of the isiXhosa MT speakers from the model-C school. Figure 4.13 also illustrates how the two English MT speaker groups realise the frontest GOOSEc vowel in comparison to the other speaker groups. It would also appear, from the graph, that there is little difference between these two English MT groups. The private isiXhosa MT speakers produce a slightly more back version of the GOOSEc vowel, in relation to their English MT peers. The model-C isiXhosa MT speakers appear to produce a significantly backer vowel than all other speaker groups.

While Figure 4.13 clearly illustrates variation between the speaker groups, it is important to verify these initial findings with a statistical t-test, in order to highlight if the variation shown is statistically significant. The results of the t-test can be seen in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: T-test results for GOOSEc vowel

T-TEST: GOOSEc			
Private E-Private X ⁸	F1 ⁹	0.245215241	
Private E-Private X	F2 ¹⁰	0.043536493	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F1	1.72689E-05 ¹¹	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F2	1.41737E-24	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F1	7.60143E-05	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F2	1.41325E-09	SIGNIFICANT
Private E-Model E	F1	0.185088369	
Private E-Model E	F2	0.311282441	

The results of the t-test indicate that the private English MT speakers produce a significantly fronter GOOSEc vowel than the private isiXhosa MT speakers. The model-C English MT speakers are significantly fronter and lower than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers, in their realisation of the GOOSEc vowel. The private isiXhosa MT speakers are significantly fronter and lower than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers. The t-test confirms the initial finding in relation to the English MT speaker groups (show little difference in Figure 4.13), as the test results indicate no statistical differences between them.

⁸ For ease of representation, 'E' refers to 'English', and 'X' refers to 'isiXhosa'

⁹ F₁ indicates acoustic region in terms of vowel front/backness.

¹⁰ F₂ indicates acoustic region in terms of vowel height.

¹¹ Where a number appears in such a format, it indicates that there are a large number of zeros in front of the first number. For example, 6.70436E-13 would read 0.0000000000000670436, which is a highly significant result. Using the 'E-' format is an abbreviation to ease reading.

❖ GOOSEnc

All speakers were analysed according to their realisation of the GOOSEnc vowel. Examples of this vowel can be found in words such as *who*, *goose*, *cougar*, *food* and *boobs*. While each speaker used the word *goose* at least once in their interview (part of the word list component of the interview schedule) these tokens were excluded from the data as they are in word list style (tokens from word list style only considered for the normalisation process). Only a small number of the speakers used words with GOOSEnc vowels in the interviews, and those who did generally only used them once or twice. A limited number of word tokens, captured from a limited number of speakers, will not reflect an accurate portrayal of the realisation of the GOOSEnc vowel for all speakers. In addition to this, the small number of tokens does not meet data conditions required for using a statistical t-test for analysis. For this reason, the GOOSEnc vowel has been excluded from the presentation of data.

❖ GOOSEj

All speakers were analysed according to their realisation of the GOOSEj vowel. Examples of this vowel can be found in words such as *you*, *used*, *few* and *usually*. The GOOSEj vowels for each speaker group show significant variation. Figures 4.14-4.17 illustrate the complete token spread of this vowel for each speaker group. As can be seen on the graphs, each speaker group forms a cluster group within a particular acoustic region. The private English MT speakers (illustrated in Figure 4.14) form a cluster group which indicates a high front GOOSEj vowel. This is a similar acoustic region as the GOOSEc vowel (see Figure 4.9). The private isiXhosa MT speakers (illustrated in Figure 4.15) form a cluster group indicating the realisation of a GOOSEj vowel which is high central-to-front in acoustic region. Again, this is similar to their realisation of the GOOSEc vowel. The English MT speakers from the model-C school indicate a similar cluster group to that of the English MT speakers from the private school, and are perhaps even producing a more front version of the GOOSEj vowel. The model-C isiXhosa MT speakers form a cluster group similar to that of their GOOSEc vowel, which indicates a high central-to-back GOOSEc vowel. Initial viewings of the graphs suggest that this group is producing a backer GOOSEc vowel than the isiXhosa MT speakers from the private school.

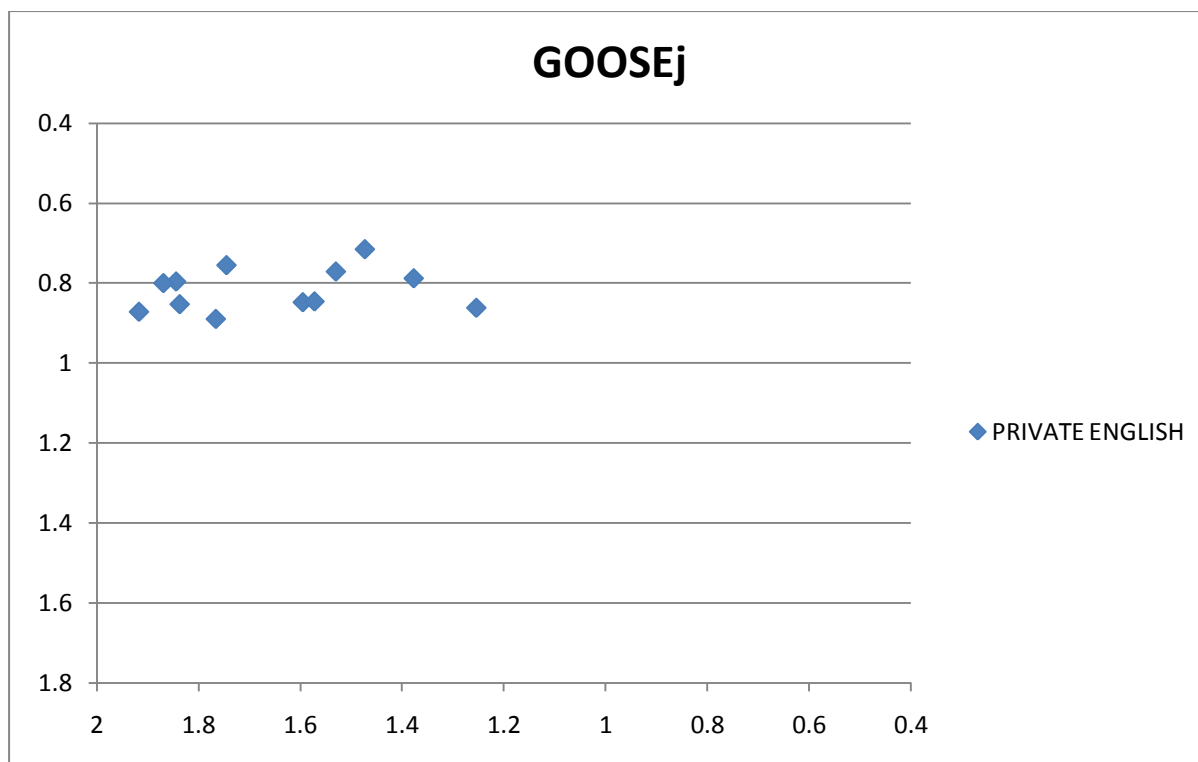


FIGURE 4.14: Graph illustrating token spread for GOOSEj for all private English speakers

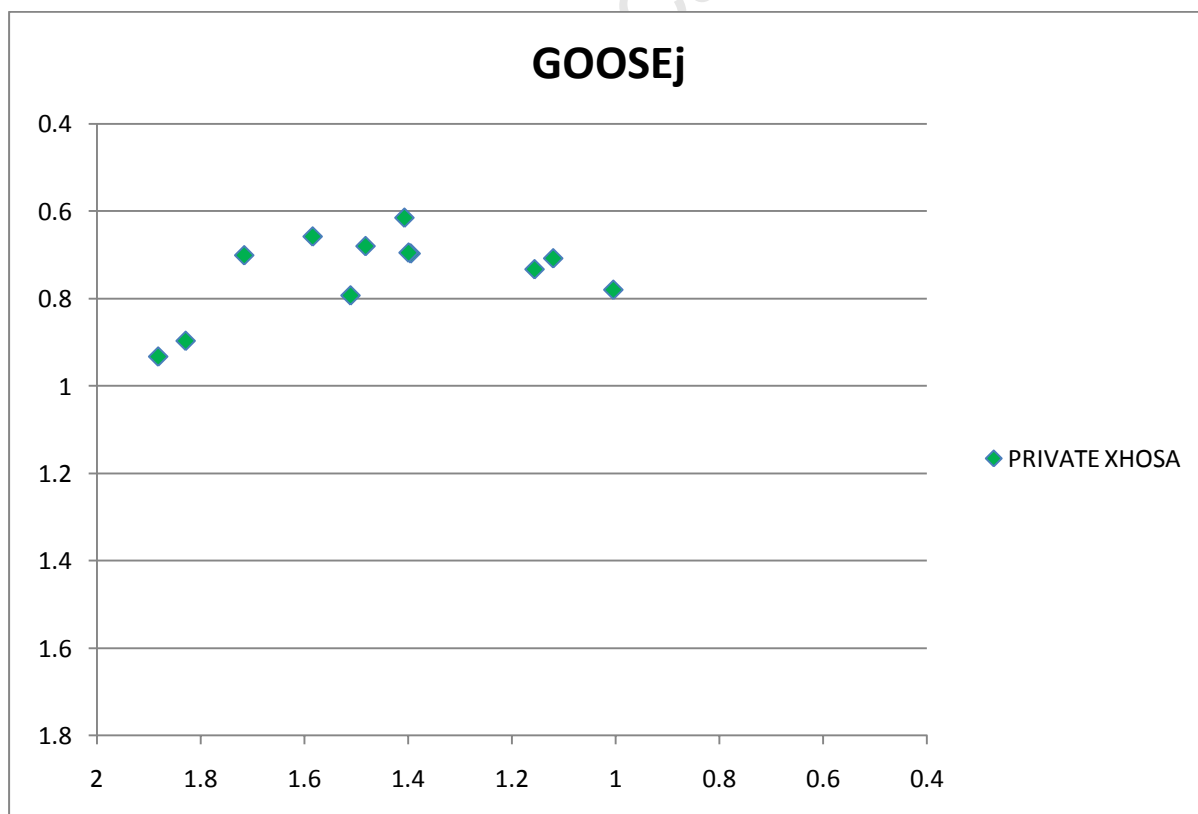
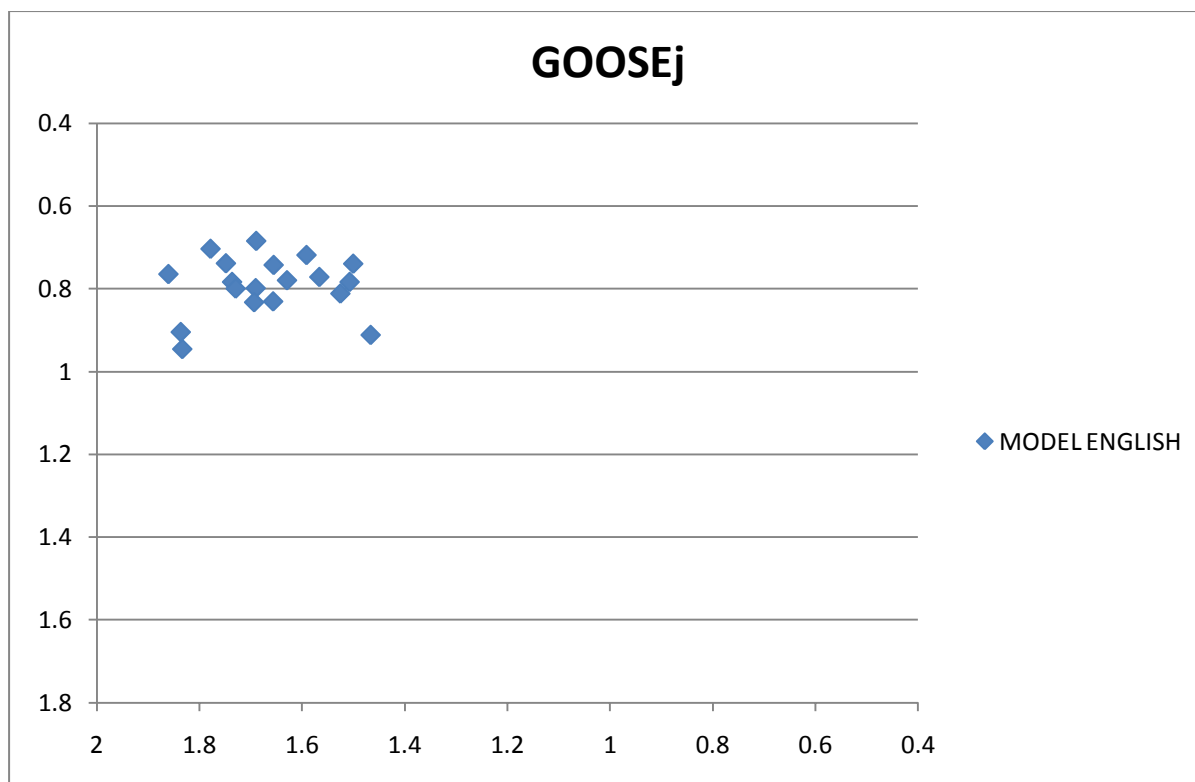


FIGURE 4.15: Graph illustrating token spread for GOOSEj for all private isiXhosa speakers



As with the GOOSEc vowel token spreads, the GOOSEj token spreads of all the speaker groups were averaged out. Once again, these averaged scores aid the analysis in terms of making comparisons, and they allow for statistical significance testing to be carried out. The averaged scores of the speaker groups are compared in Figure 4.18.

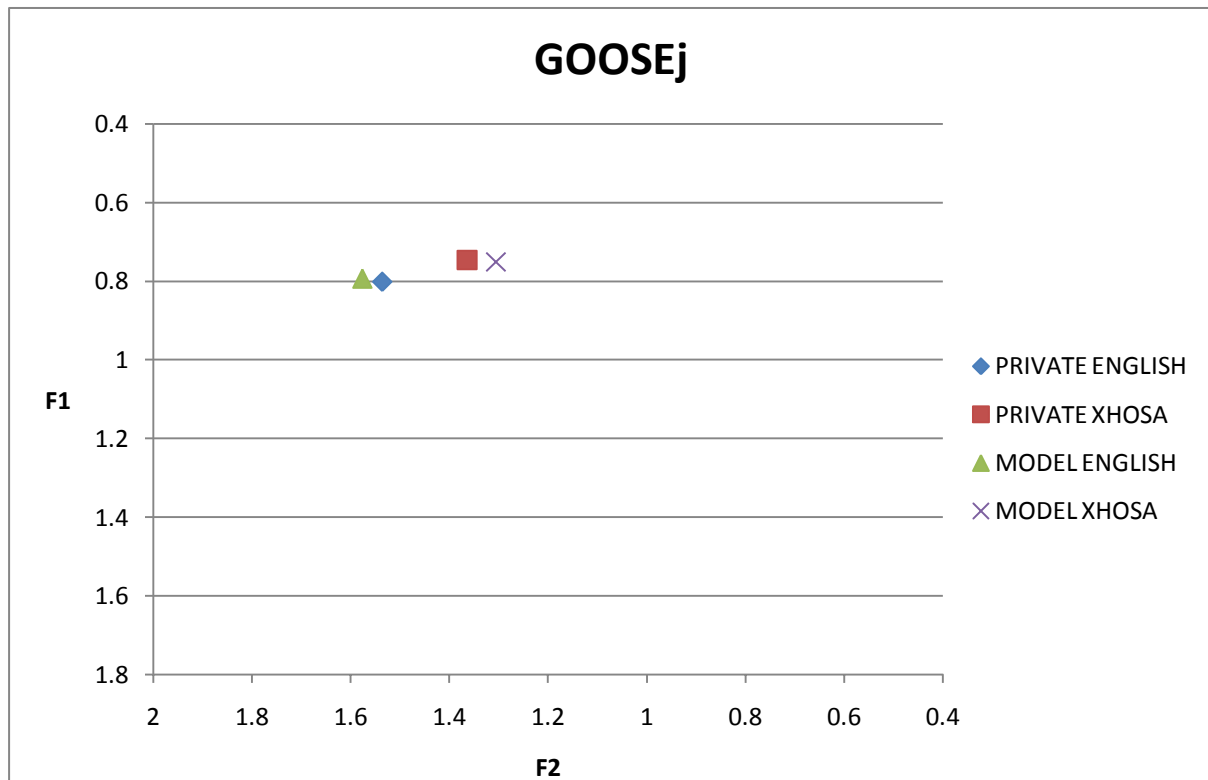


FIGURE 4.18: Graph illustrating GOOSEj vowel averages for all speakers

As can be seen in Figure 4.18, variation between speakers is considerable. The graph illustrated in Figure 4.18 also suggests that the speaker groups have formed individual acoustic groups. Similarly to the GOOSEc vowel, the two English MT speaker groups realise a much more fronter version of the GOOSEj vowel than the two isiXhosa MT speaker groups. They also appear to produce a lower version of this vowel than their isiXhosa MT peers. It also appears from this graph that the model-C English MT speakers are producing a slightly more fronted version of the GOOSEj vowel than their private English MT speaker counterparts. Similar to the GOOSEc vowel, the private isiXhosa MT speakers produce a fronter vowel than their model-C isiXhosa MT speaker counterparts. However, unlike the GOOSEc vowel, the distance between the English MT speakers and the private isiXhosa MT speakers appears to be significantly greater.

While Figure 4.18 illustrates variation between the speaker groups, it is important to verify these initial findings with a statistical t-test, as variation shown on a graph can often be misjudged. Seemingly small differences may in fact be statistically significant, and alternatively, what may appear to be variation shown in the graph, may not be statistically significant at all. The results of the t-test can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: T-test results for GOOSEj

T-TEST: GOOSEj			
Private E-Private X	F1	0.013801676	SIGNIFICANT
Private E-Private X	F2	0.035172587	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F1	0.030521166	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F2	6.42052E-11	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F1	0.366444052	
Private X-Model X	F2	0.052741958	
Private E-Model E	F1	0.135079478	
Private E-Model E	F2	0.388082198	

The results of the t-test indicate that the private English MT speakers produce a significantly more front and lower GOOSEj vowel than the private isiXhosa MT speakers. The model-C English MT speakers also produce a significantly more front and lower GOOSEj vowel than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers. The two isiXhosa MT speaker groups do not show any statistical significance, in terms of both vowel height and front/backness. This is noteworthy, as the graph in Figure 4.18 suggests that some difference does exist. This illustrates the importance of statistical tests, as graphs alone cannot be relied on solely for accurate results. The t-test shows that the two English MT speaker groups do not have any statistically significant difference between them. Similarly to the isiXhosa MT

speaker groups, the t-test indicates important differences (and in this case, no difference) which might not be accurately determined from a graph alone.

The prestige associated with a fronted GOOSE vowel, as shown in the data presented in this study, will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4.2.3 TRAP

All speakers were analysed according to their realisation of the TRAP vowel. Examples for this vowel can be found in words such as *act*, *happy*, *chapter* and *African*. All tokens with the vowel preceding or following liquids and following nasals were deleted, as they are considered problematic phonetic environments (Di Paolo et al., 2011:88). These included tokens such as *trap*, *black*, *scratch* and *match*.

Variation between the TRAP vowels for each speaker group is considerable. This can be seen in the complete token spread of this vowel for each speaker, graphically illustrated in Figure 4.19-4.22. The private English MT speaker group (illustrated in Figure 4.19) indicates a cluster group forming a low central-to-back TRAP vowel. This is slightly different to the cluster group formed by the private isiXhosa MT speaker group, who produce a low central TRAP vowel. The model-C English MT speakers appear to form a cluster group indicating a very similar realisation to that of the private English MT speaker group, in a low central-to-back TRAP vowel. The model-C isiXhosa MT speakers form a cluster which appears to produce a similar TRAP vowel to the private isiXhosa MT speakers, although it might be slightly more fronted.

The variation shown in the complete token spread of the speakers was considered in relation to their respective phonetic environments, in order to account for the seemingly back TRAP tokens illustrated in Figure 4.19-4.22. It appears that for many tokens which have neighbourhood¹² velars, the vowel is realised in a backer position. However, some of these back tokens show some lexical influence. Overall, no firm structural pattern could be ascertained to account for the token spread.

¹² *Neighbourhood* refers to velar sounds either preceding or following the vowel

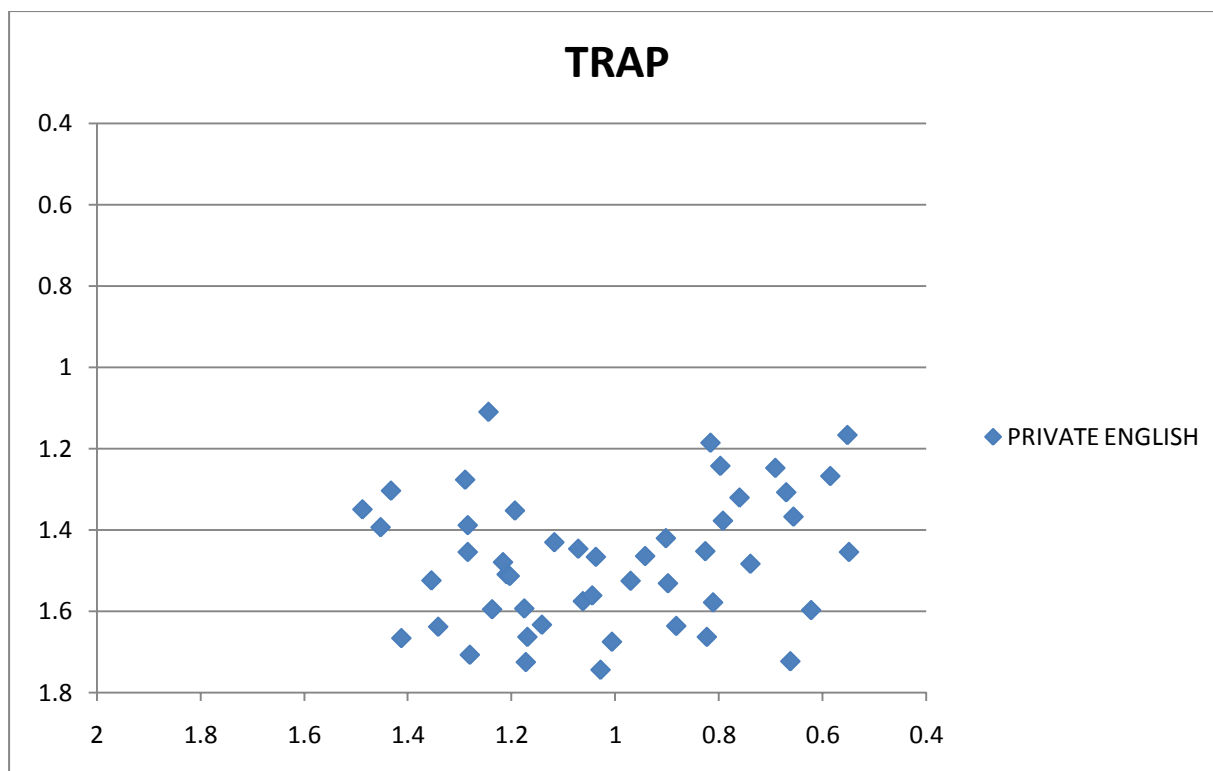


FIGURE 4.19: Graph illustrating token spread for TRAP for all private English speakers

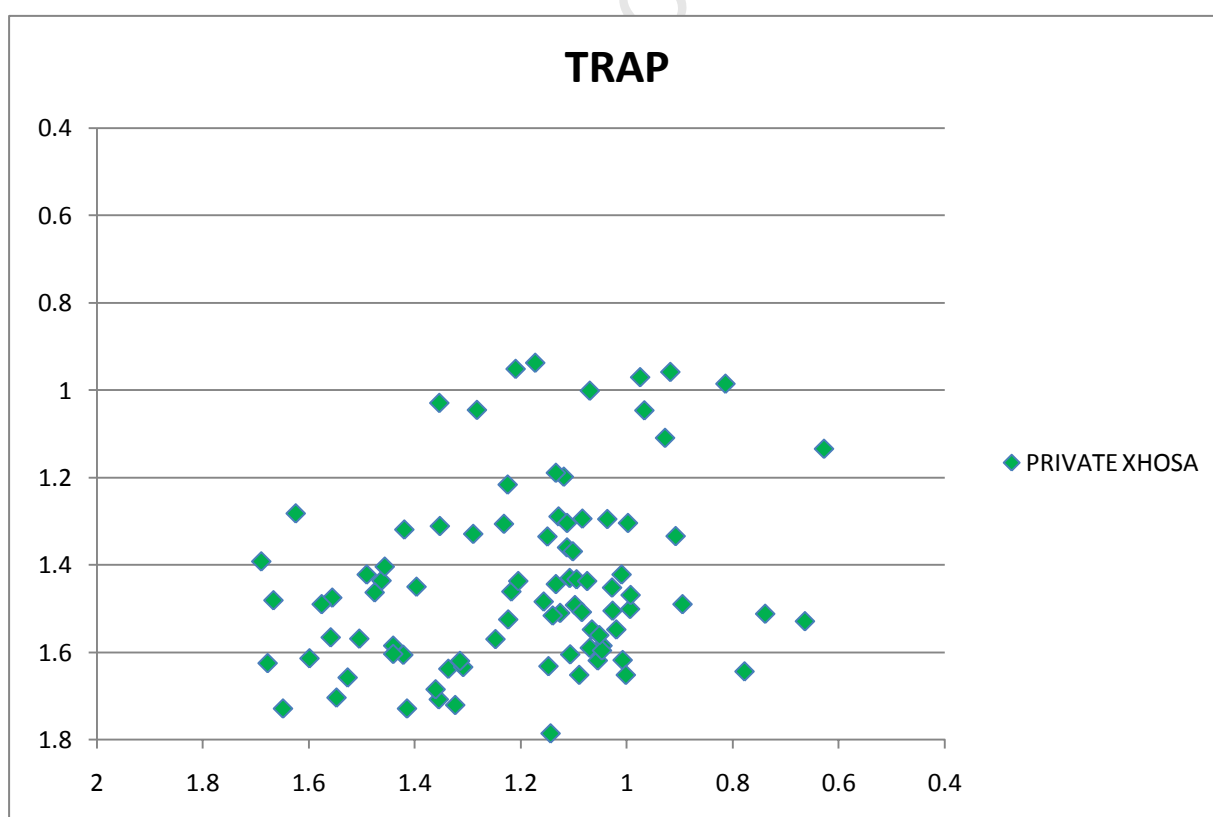


FIGURE 4.20: Graph illustrating token spread for TRAP for all private isiXhosa speakers

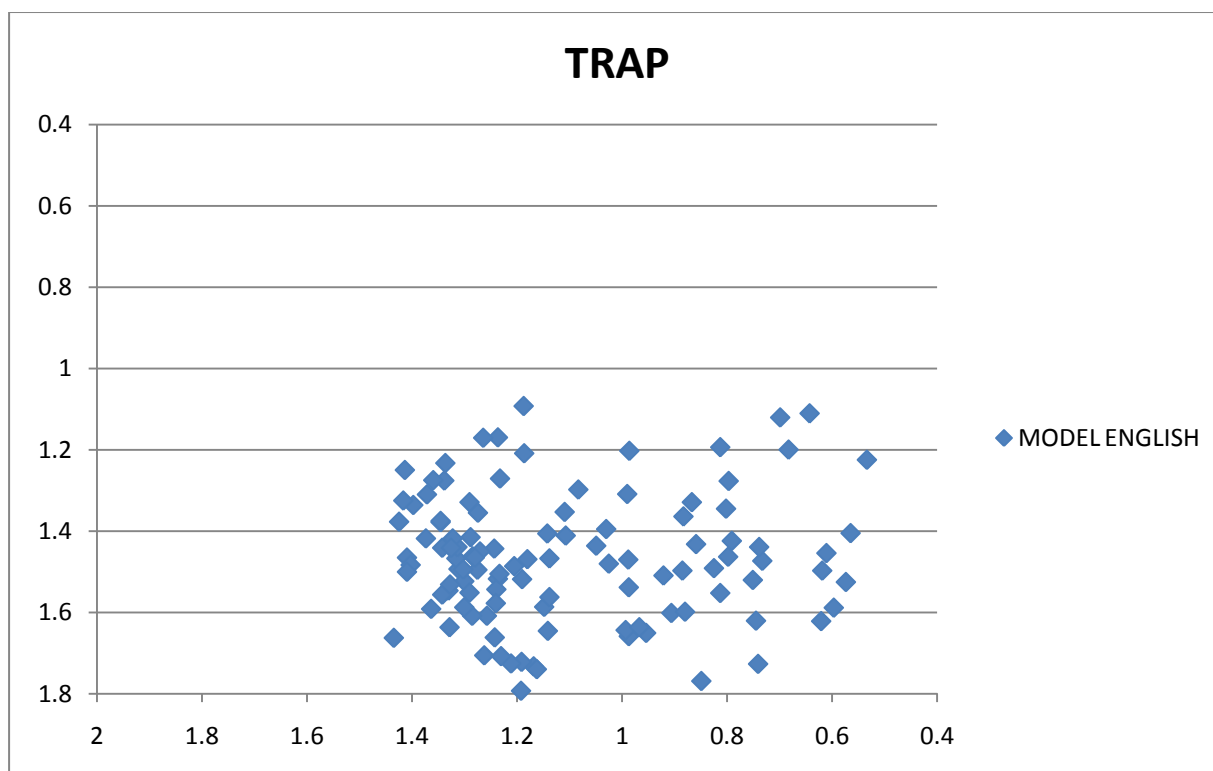


FIGURE 4.21: Graph illustrating token spread for TRAP for all model-C English speakers

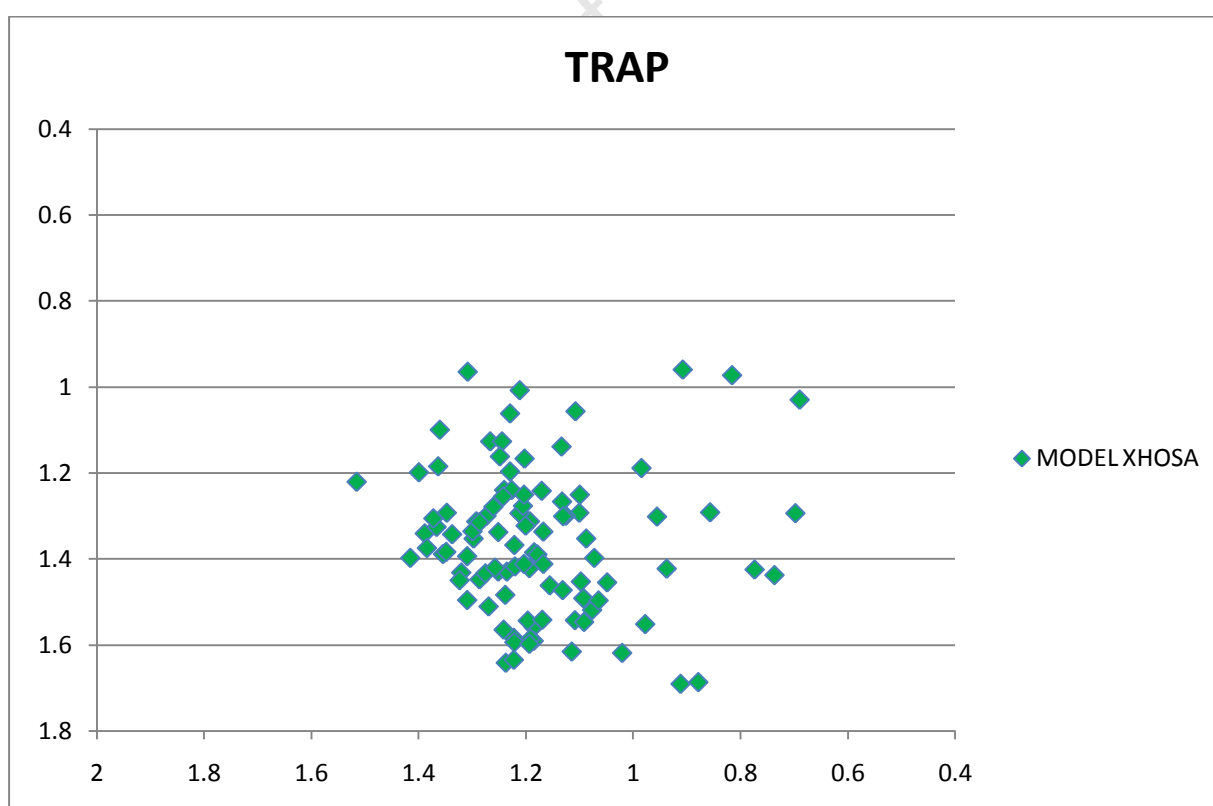


FIGURE 4.22: Graph illustrating token spread for TRAP for all model-C isiXhosa speakers

As with the GOOSE vowels, the TRAP vowel token spreads of all the speaker groups were averaged out, for comparative and statistical purposes. The averaged scores of the speaker groups are compared in Figure 4.23.

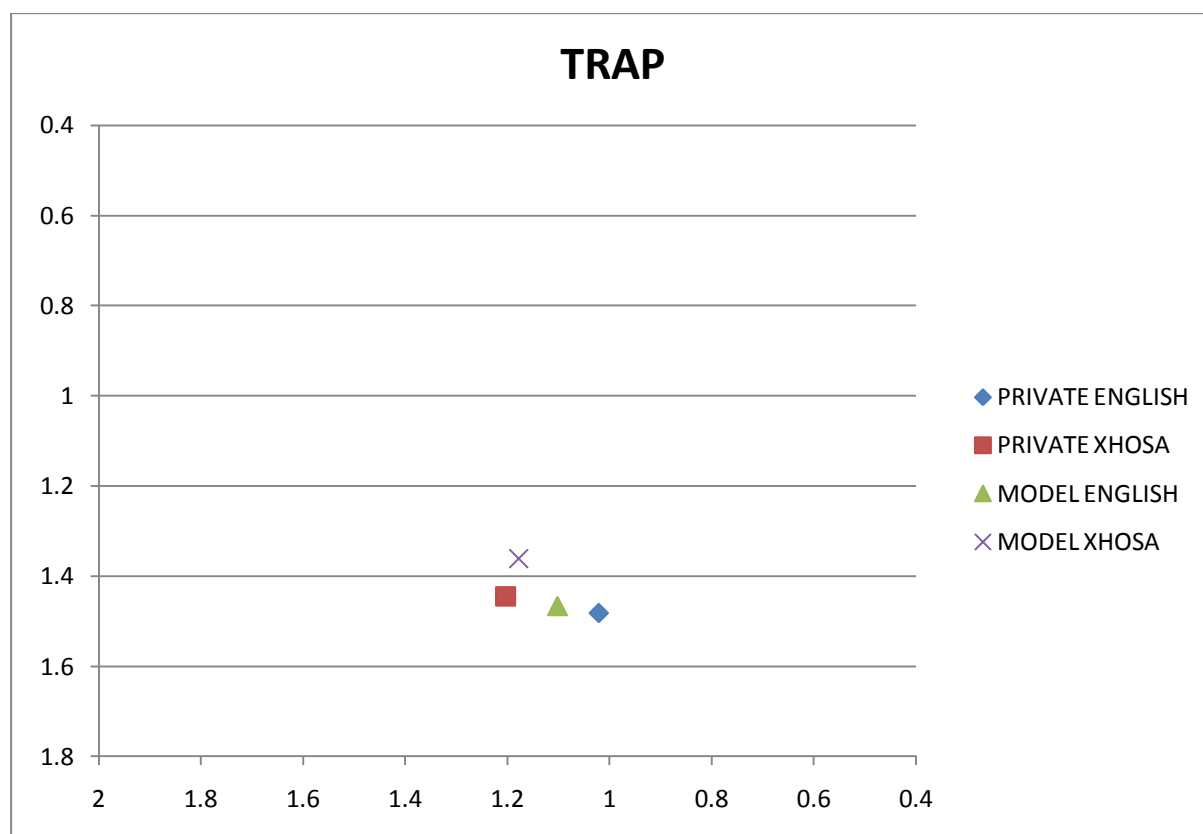


FIGURE 4.23: Graph illustrating TRAP vowel averages for all speakers

As can be seen in Figure 4.23, the four different speaker groups form four distinct groups in terms of their realisations of the TRAP vowel. The private English MT speakers produce the most back version of the TRAP vowel in comparison to the other speaker groups. It would appear that while the model-C English MT speakers produce a slightly fronter version of TRAP, there is not much difference in vowel height between the two English MT groups. The private isiXhosa MT speakers produce an even fronter version of the TRAP vowel to the model-C English MT group, but do not appear to differ substantially from either English MT group in terms of vowel height. The model-C isiXhosa speakers produce a TRAP vowel which is higher in height compared to all other speaker groups. It does not seem to differ substantially from the private isiXhosa MT speakers in terms of front/backness.

It is important to verify the initial findings read off Figure 4.23 with a statistical t-test. The results of the t-test for the TRAP vowel can be seen in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: T-test results for TRAP vowel

T-TEST: TRAP			
Private E-Private X	F1	0.182474307	
Private E-Private X	F2	4.2013E-05	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F1	9.08952E-07	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F2	0.000935609	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F1	0.000945308	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F2	0.310397494	
Private E-Model E	F1	0.380156041	
Private E-Model E	F2	0.041230218	SIGNIFICANT

The results of the t-test indicate that the private English MT speakers produce a backer version of the TRAP vowel than the private isiXhosa MT speakers. There is no statistically significant difference in the height of the TRAP vowel between these two speaker groups. The model-C English MT speakers produce a significantly lower and backer TRAP vowel than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers. The private isiXhosa MT speakers produce a significantly lower TRAP vowel compared than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers. These two speaker groups do not show any significant difference in terms of front/backness. The two English MT groups show no significant difference in term of vowel height, but the private English MT speakers do produce a significantly backer TRAP vowel than their model-C counterparts.

Older prestigious norms of TRAP raising, evident here among the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers, will be discussed in relation to the other speaker groups, and in light of existing literature in Chapter Five. Evidence of TRAP-backing by the English MT speakers is significant in light of recent literature pertaining to changes in SAE post 2000. This will be expanded on and discussed in Chapter Five.

4.2.4 DRESS

All speakers were analysed according to their realisations of the DRESS vowel. Examples for this vowel can be found in words such as *bet*, *yes*, *western* and *everything*. All tokens with the vowel preceding or following liquids and following nasals were deleted, as they are considered problematic phonetic environments for acoustic measurement (Di Paolo et al., 2011:88). These included tokens such as *dress*, *tennis*, *led* and *met*.

The initial analysis of the DRESS vowel proved to be somewhat problematic in terms of the private English MT speaker group. When conducting interviews, I noticed a speaker who produced a DRESS vowel different to the other speakers of the group. Upon investigation, it was found that this specific speaker lives in Johannesburg. This could indicate some interesting regional variation, as the speaker forms an outlier, producing a substantially backer DRESS vowel than the other speakers. While this is an interesting finding, due to the length constraints of this dissertation, it is not investigated and discussed further. In dealing with this outlier, I will first present the full spectrum of the DRESS findings with the outlier included in the data. I will then present the DRESS findings of the private English MT speaker group, with the outlier excluded from the data. A revised graph showing the comparison of token averages will be presented, taking into account this omission, and a corresponding t-test will be presented and discussed.

❖ DRESS, including outlier

The complete token spread of DRESS for all speakers can be seen in Figures 4.24-4.27. It is clear that there is considerable variation between the four speaker groups. The private English MT speakers appear to produce a large cluster group, indicating a DRESS vowel which varies from a mid front to a mid back vowel for different speakers. The private isiXhosa MT speakers produce a mid central-to-front DRESS vowel. The model-C English MT speakers appear to produce a neat cluster group indicating a realisation of the DRESS vowel which is mid central. The model-C isiXhosa MT speakers also form a neat cluster group, indicating a realisation of the DRESS vowel which is mid central-to-front.

Similarly to the TRAP vowel tokens, the DRESS vowel tokens were considered in light of their respective phonetic environments, in order to account for the wide spread. Many vowels in the environment of a velar sound are produced further back than non-velar environments. However, many words in velar environments are also produced as front vowels. For this reason, no firm structural pattern could be ascertained to account for the wide spread.

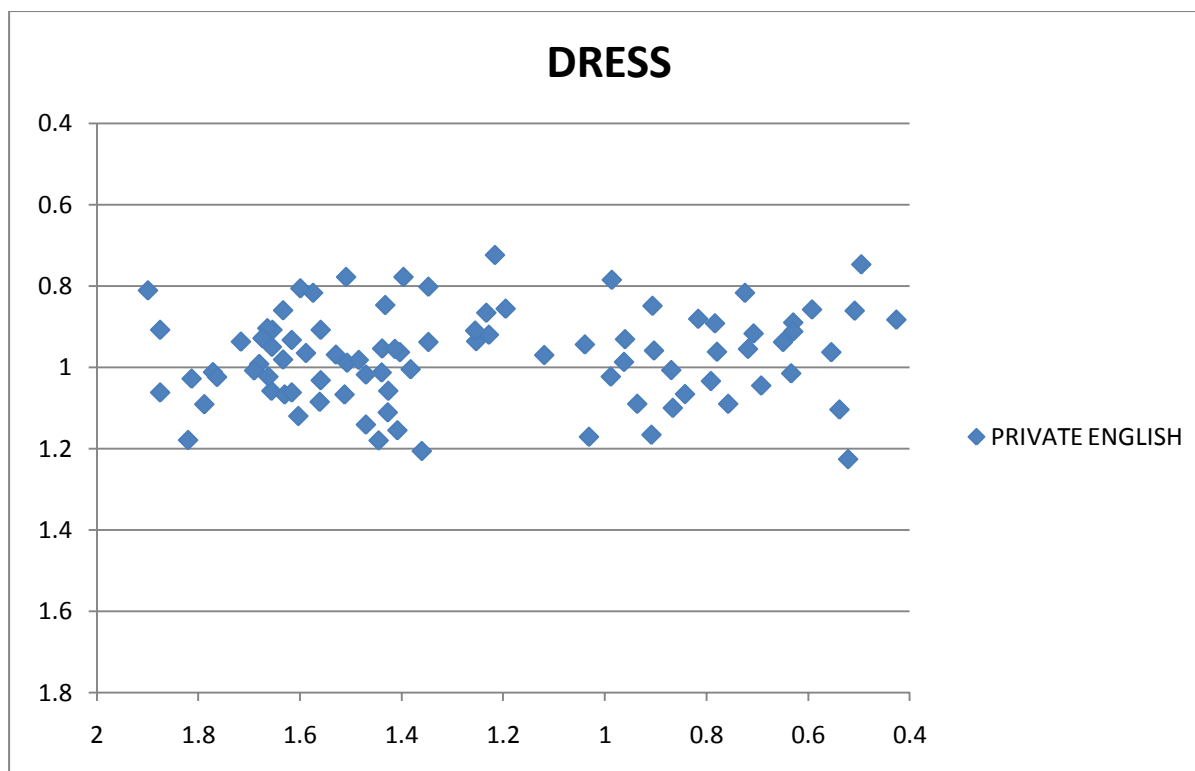


FIGURE 4.24: Graph illustrating token spread for DRESS for private English speakers, including outlier

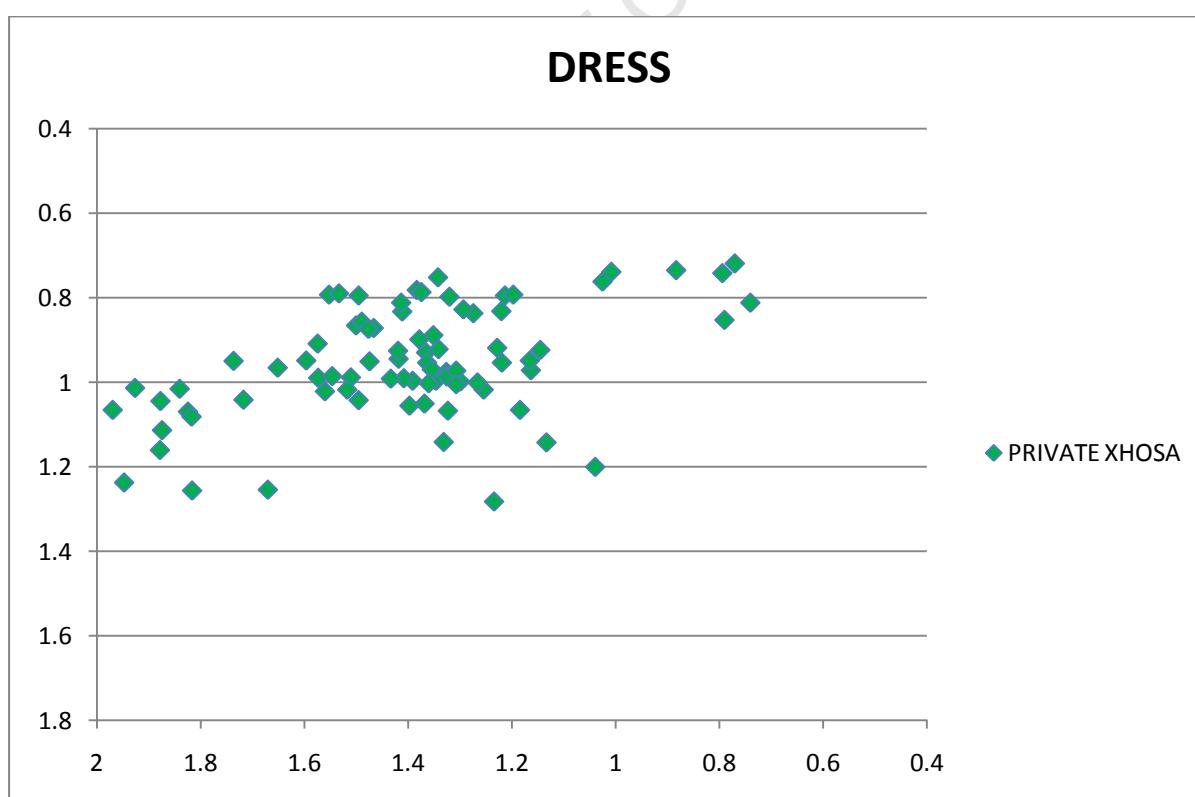


FIGURE 4.25: Graph illustrating token spread for DRESS for all private isiXhosa speakers

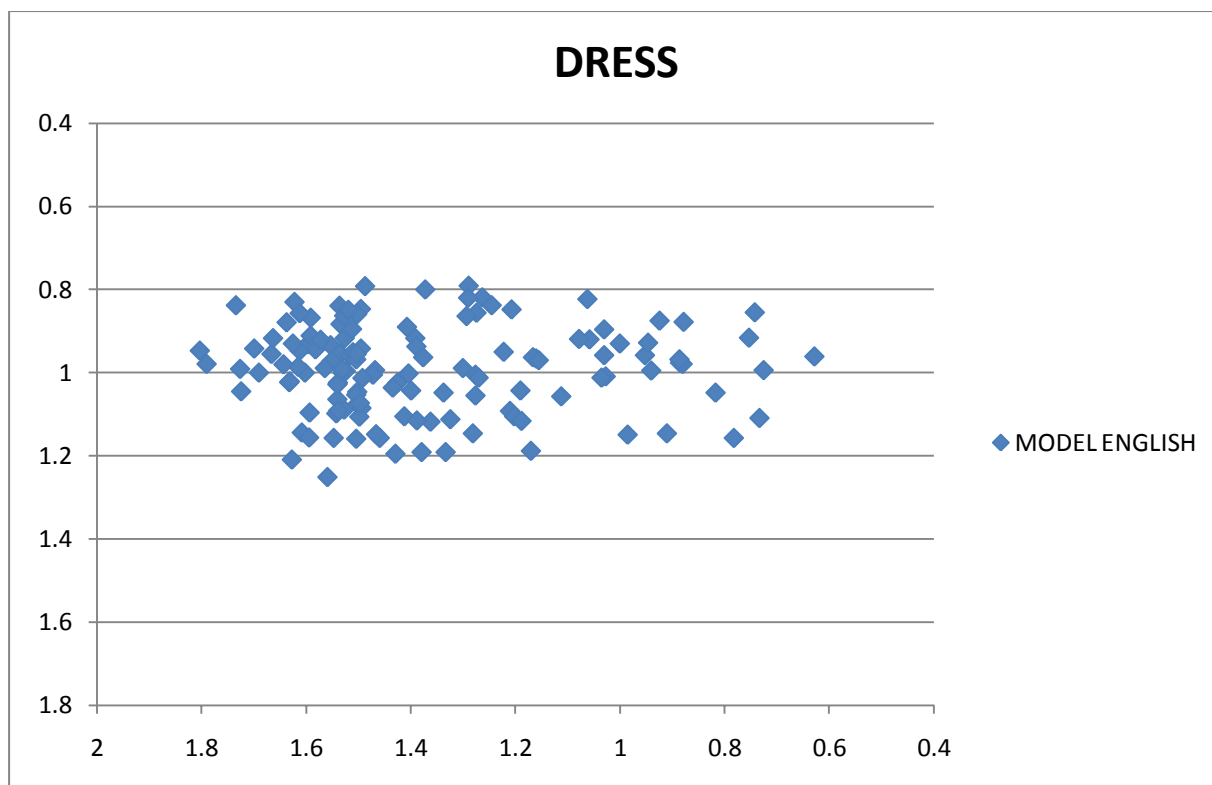


FIGURE 4.26: Graph illustrating token spread for DRESS for all model-C English speakers

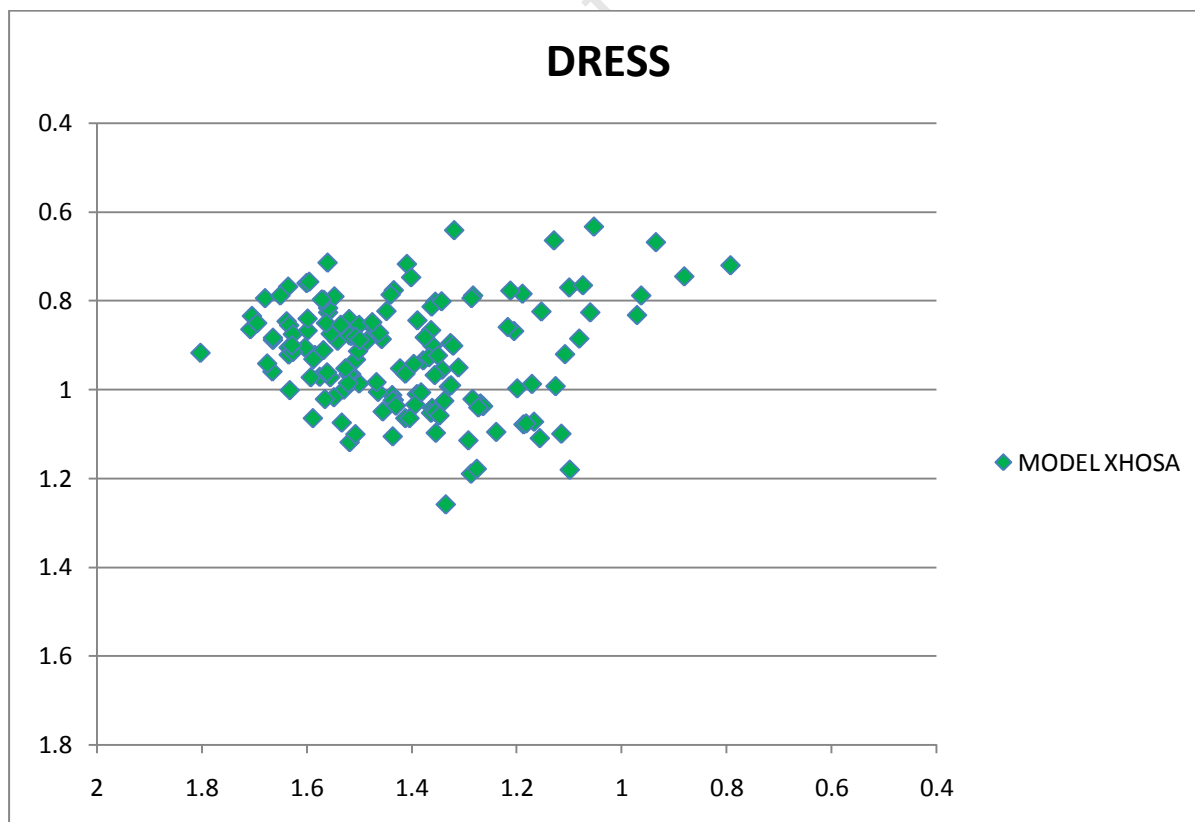


FIGURE 4.27: Graph illustrating token spread for DRESS for all model-C isiXhosa speakers

As with the previous vowels, the DRESS token spreads of all the speaker groups were averaged out, for comparative and statistical purposes. The averaged scores of the speaker groups are compared in Figure 4.28.

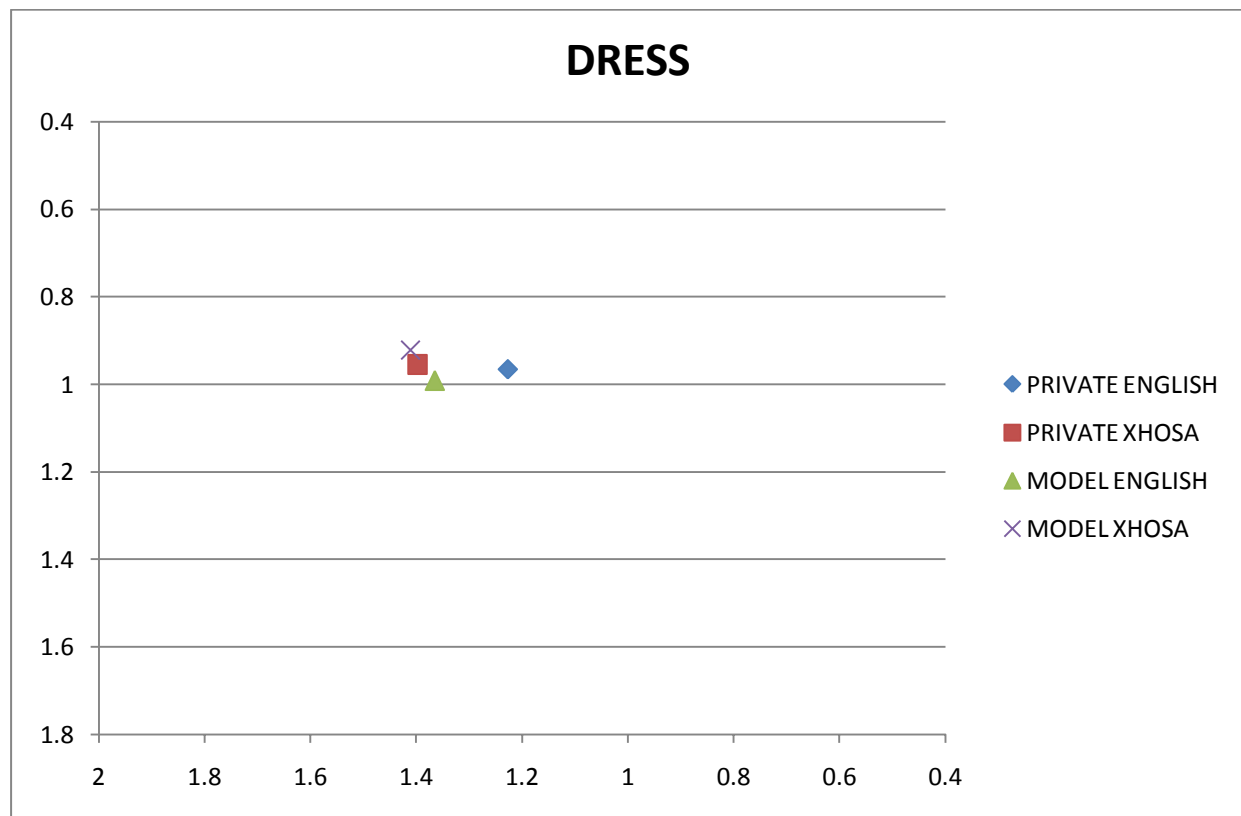


FIGURE 4.28: Graph illustrating DRESS vowel averages for all speakers, including outlier

As can be seen in Figure 4.28, the most noticeable difference between the speaker groups is the position of DRESS for the private English MT speakers. These speakers appear to produce a DRESS vowel which is substantially backer than that produced by the other speaker groups. While the private English MT speakers seem to have the same vowel height as the private isiXhosa MT speakers, they produce a higher DRESS vowel than that produced by the model-C English MT speakers. The private isiXhosa MT speakers produce a slightly fronted and raised version of the DRESS vowel, as compared to the model-C English MT speakers. The model-C isiXhosa MT speakers produce a higher DRESS vowel than the private isiXhosa MT speakers. There appears to be little difference in the front/backness of the DRESS vowel between the two isiXhosa MT groups.

As stated with the GOOSE and TRAP vowels, it is important to do a t-test to verify the findings read off the graph in Figure 4.28. A t-test is especially useful when speaker groups appear to overlap, as is

the case of the two isiXhosa MT groups for the DRESS vowel. The results of the t-test can be seen in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: T-test results for DRESS, including outlier

T-TEST: DRESS			
Private E-Private X	F1	0.28161173	
Private E-Private X	F2	0.00095891	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F1	1.3156E-07	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F2	0.04936269	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F1	0.02872595	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F2	0.34775823	
Private E-Model E	F1	0.0458616	SIGNIFICANT
Private E-Model E	F2	0.00378002	SIGNIFICANT

The t-test results indicate that there is no significant difference in vowel height between the private English MT and private isiXhosa MT speakers. The private English MT speakers do, however, produce a significantly backer version of the DRESS vowel than the private isiXhosa MT speakers. The model-C English MT and isiXhosa MT speakers differ significantly in terms of vowel height, with the isiXhosa MT speakers producing a higher version of DRESS than that produced by the English MT speakers. The two speaker groups also differ in terms of front/backness, with the English MT speakers producing a backer version of the DRESS vowel than their isiXhosa MT peers. The t-test shows that the two isiXhosa MT speaker groups differ significantly in terms of vowel height, with the private isiXhosa MT speakers producing a lower DRESS vowel than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers. The t-test indicates that the two English MT groups differ significantly, both in terms of vowel height and front/backness, with the model-C English MT speakers producing a much fronter and lower DRESS vowel than the private English MT speakers.

❖ DRESS, excluding outlier

When removing the DRESS tokens of the outlier within the private English MT speaker group, the complete token spread changes. This change can be seen in Figure 2.29, in that most of the extreme back tokens have been removed.

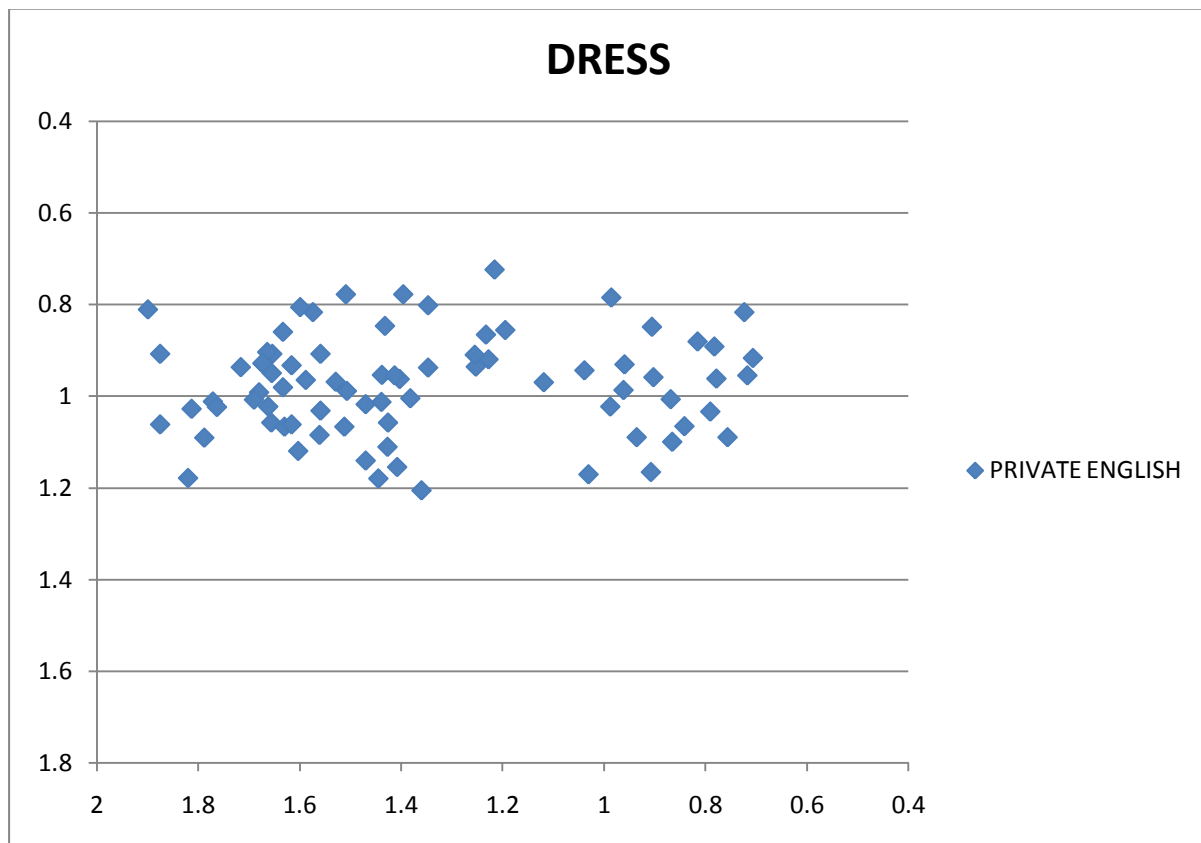


FIGURE 4.29: Graph illustrating token spread for DRESS for private English speakers, excluding outlier

As can be seen in the above graph, when comparing Figure 4.29 with Figure 4.24, it is clear that most of the extreme back tokens were produced by the outlier. If this data is excluded, the average of the speaker group is significantly different, and presents findings which reflect a more accurate account of the majority of the speakers. This can be seen in Figure 4.30.

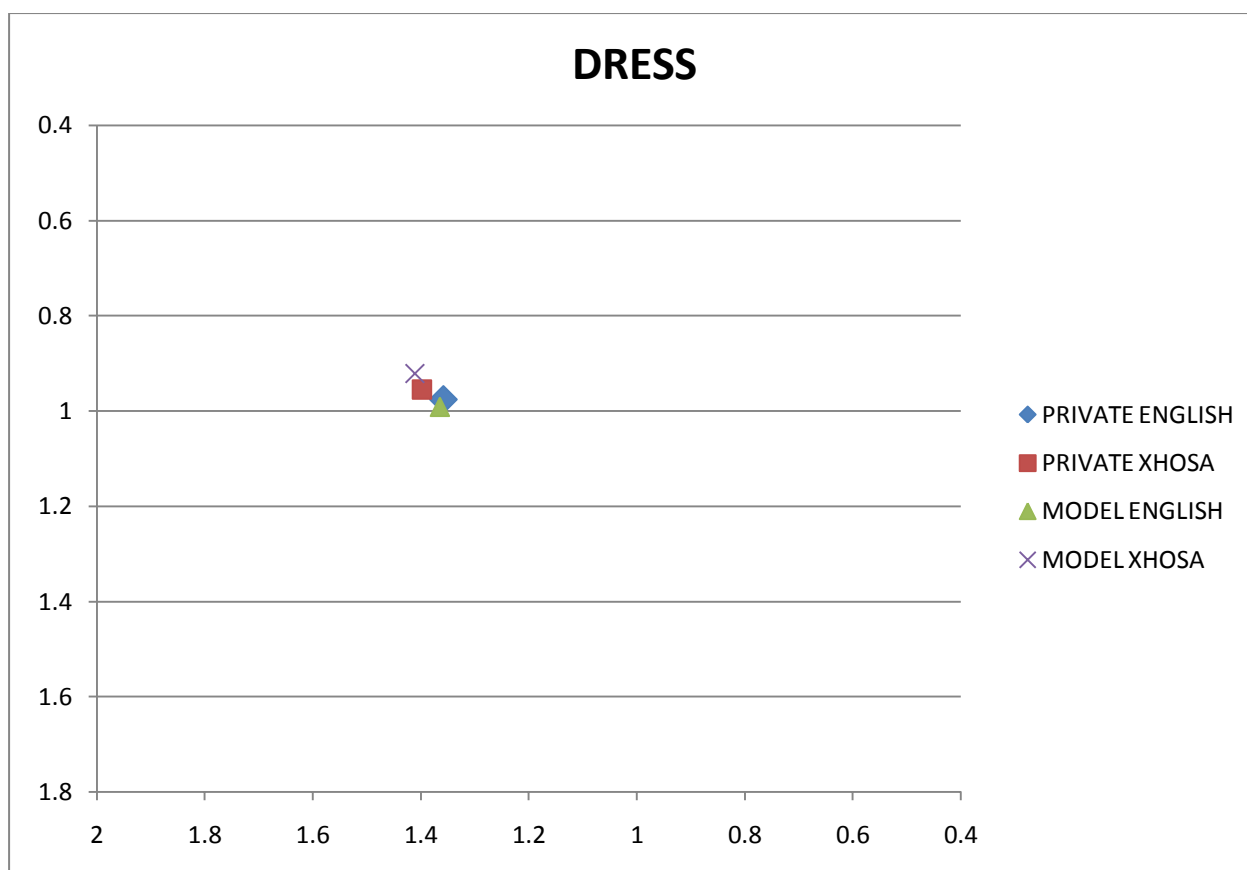


FIGURE 4.30: Graph illustrating DRESS vowel averages for all speakers, excluding outlier

When considering Figure 4.30 in comparison to Figure 4.28, it illustrates the effect one outlier can have on a corpus of data. It also indicates how the outlier has influenced and 'thrown out' the findings of the other participants. It is for this reason that these revised findings are presented, and it is my contention that these revised findings represent a more accurate portrayal of the speech characteristics of this group, and should therefore be considered above those formerly presented.

Due to changes in the revised data, it was necessary to do a new t-test. The results of this test can be seen in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: T-test results for DRESS, excluding outlier

T-TEST: DRESS			
Private E-Private X	F1	0.12989309	
Private E-Private X	F2	0.20862306	
Model E-Model X	F1	1.3156E-07	SIGNIFICANT
Model E-Model X	F2	0.04936269	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F1	0.02872595	SIGNIFICANT
Private X-Model X	F2	0.34775823	
Private E-Model E	F1	0.15522555	
Private E-Model E	F2	0.44123075	

The t-test results of the revised data indicate different results regarding the private English MT speakers, to that of the first test. According to the t-test, there are no statistically significant differences between the private English MT and isiXhosa MT speakers. The significance between the model-C English MT and isiXhosa MT groups has not changed, with the two groups being significantly different in terms of both vowel height and front/backness. The statistical significance between the two isiXhosa MT speaker groups has also not changed, with the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers producing a significantly higher DRESS vowel to that produced by the private isiXhosa MT speakers. A substantial change which has taken place, and which is reflected in the t-test results, is that between the two English MT speaker groups. The t-test indicates that instead of being significantly different in terms of both vowel height and front/backness, the two groups show no significant differences in vowel realisation.

Possible DRESS-lowering by the white English MT speakers will be discussed in relation to current phonetic findings in Chapter Five.

4.2.5 Synthesis of quantitative findings

This section has presented the quantitative findings of the study. Data pertaining to the GOOSE, TRAP, and DRESS vowels was phonetically analysed using a variety of programs and procedures. The findings indicate the following:

- ❖ **GOOSEc:** English MT speakers form one cluster group, and produce a significantly fronter GOOSEc vowel than both isiXhosa MT speaker groups. Private isiXhosa MT speakers produce a fronter GOOSEc vowel than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers, who produce the most back vowel out of all speaker groups.
- ❖ **GOOSEnc:** Excluded from data corpus, due to insufficient tokens for analysis
- ❖ **GOOSEj:** English MT speakers form one cluster group, and produce a significantly fronter GOOSEj vowel than both the isiXhosa MT speaker groups. The two isiXhosa MT speaker groups form one cluster group.
- ❖ **TRAP:** Private English MT speakers produce a significantly back TRAP vowel when compared to other speaker groups. Model-C English MT speakers produce a more fronted version of the TRAP vowel, but do not differ significantly from private English MT speakers in terms of vowel height. Private isiXhosa MT speakers produce a higher TRAP vowel, but do not differ significantly in terms of vowel height with the English MT speaker groups. Model-C isiXhosa MT speakers produce a higher TRAP vowel than private English MT speakers, but do not differ significantly in terms of front/backness.
- ❖ **DRESS:** Divided into 'data including outlier' and 'data excluding outlier'. Former- all speaker groups are significantly different in terms of either vowel height, or front/backness, or both. Private English speakers produce most back version of vowel. Latter- English MT speaker groups form one cluster group, and produce a lower and backer DRESS vowel than the two isiXhosa MT speaker groups.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of both the qualitative and quantitative findings of the research. It is shown how language attitudes and associated language use have influenced and shaped the identity construction of young isiXhosa MT participants. It has also presented the acoustic properties of select vowels, produced by English MT and isiXhosa MT speakers, namely the GOOSE, TRAP and DRESS vowel. In Chapter Five, the acoustic variation, presented here as the

quantitative findings of the study, will be considered in collaboration with the qualitative findings, in light of research reviewed in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The goal of this research is to understand socio-cultural change in two prestigious secondary school environments. More specifically, the study investigates, with a view to understanding:

- ❖ how language shift to English and attitudes to language in general affect the identity construction of young female isiXhosa MT speakers
- ❖ how accents are changing, and the extent to which this is influenced by social class and changes in identity construction

This chapter discusses the findings of the research, presented in Chapter Four, in relation to the theoretical perspectives reviewed in Chapter Two. It presents a collaborative discussion of both the qualitative and quantitative findings, highlighting the interconnected and interdependent nature of their relationship, and how change in one is mirrored in the other.

5.2 Discussion

The discussion presented in this section consists of two parts: changes in identity of young female isiXhosa MT speakers and accent changes. While changes in identity and accent are evident in the white English MT speakers as well, this is not the focus of this study, and due to the length constraints of this dissertation, this issue is not discussed. For this reason, and for ease of discussion, 'participants' will henceforth refer only to the isiXhosa MT speakers.

5.2.1 Changes in the identity of young female isiXhosa MT speakers

Changes in identity can be identified in four key areas which emerged from the sociolinguistic interviews conducted with the isiXhosa MT speakers. These are socialisation practices, attendance at prestigious English schools, social distance between township peers, and lastly, changing practices of bilingualism, both in the home and school. These areas will be discussed in turn, and in relation to social class.

- ❖ Socialisation practices

Chapter Two outlined how changes in socialisation practices affect identity construction. This is especially prevalent within this study, as with changes in social class in South Africa (see Chapter

Two for more detail), socialisation practices have changed, especially those pertaining to the black middle-class.

The participants in this study live in a variety of middle-class urban areas in the Eastern Cape (see Table C.1, Appendix C). These areas are desegregated in composition, a characteristic of many urban areas since the demise of apartheid. The participants indicated that from a young age all attended either an English crèche or pre-primary school. These crèches or schools were desegregated, and allowed for easy mixing with a variety of language and racial groups. This meant that from a young age, the participants had mixed friendship groups and contact with individuals outside of their culture, language and racial group.

Due to the immersion in English schools from roughly the age of four, together with the fact that most of the participant's parents encouraged the use of English in the home, the participants were fully bilingual in isiXhosa and English from a young age. Bilingualism was necessary, as many of the participants indicated that their friendship groups consisted of multilingual speakers, resulting in English being the primary (common) language used in such a mixed group. The social interaction experienced by the participants in this study show how from a young age, they needed to be bilingual to access and negotiate different social networks, in the process of making friends at their schools. This illustrates the flexibility they show with their language, and how they use it strategically to suit the different identity positions they wish to take up in different contexts.

❖ Prestigious English schools

Due to their middle-class status, the participants in this study were all able to attend prestigious schools. The attendance of these prestigious schools was a decision based on the schools' reputations for being excellent academic institutions. This reputation is, amongst other attributes, associated with the schools being English. English schooling is considered by the participants and their parents to be of a better quality than schools employing a different MOI. The majority of the participants are boarders at their schools, and thus spend a greater proportion of their time at school than at home. For this reason, language patterns in the school context have come to dominate over time. While the demographics at the schools differ substantially, the white/Western school ethos is the same at both. Although many of the participants are bilingual, English has come to dominate in their school context, and for some, in the home as well. These language patterns

have caused speech accommodation to take place to more prestigious norms¹³, as an English accent is considered to be reflective of a good education. The identity positions these participants develop and adopt are ones which are not only bound to Xhosa culture, but ones which also allow access to the dominant culture of the school, which is namely Western and middle-class. While the participants manage this navigation of social spaces with relative ease, the development of an English school identity, which the participants are proud to be associated with, and which is often reflected in their use of a prestigious variety of English, is causing social distance to be created between themselves and their township peers.

❖ Social distance

Chapter Two discussed literature pertaining to the emergence of social distance between the young new black elites and their township peers. This social distance is often manifested in name-calling. The majority of the participants in this study indicated that they have been labelled a 'coconut' by others outside of their school network. This, they contend, is due to envy, and a resentment by their (often) township peers for not having the same opportunities as they have enjoyed. These include attending an English school, and speaking a variety of English that approximates that of a white MT English speaker. The label 'coconut' is also said to signify a loss in loyalty to the MT. This, according to the participants, is why they do not qualify as a 'coconut', as they are still proficient in isiXhosa. They did indicate, however, that 'coconuts' do exist, and while they are frowned upon, the maintenance of the MT is considered a personal endeavour, and lack thereof should not be criticised by others.

It is interesting to note the subtleties within a label such as 'coconut', and to consider the different perceptions and understandings of it, from both the perspective of the black elites, and their township peers. This discussion cannot make claims regarding the view of the township peers, but it can be assumed, from a review of literature, that 'coconut' signals a change (often portrayed as a betrayal) of the MT and culture, and an allegiance to English, both in terms of language and the adoption of a white/Western ethos. In public discourse, connotations associated with the label 'coconut' are generally negative. From the analysis of the attitudes associated with 'coconut' (presented in Chapter Four), it can be said that the participants in this study consider the term to be both negative and positive. This does not mean that the participants do not dismiss the term and find it offensive, which they do, but it does highlight the change in identity these participants are undergoing.

¹³ This point is expanded on and discussed in greater phonetic detail in Section 5.2.2.

Subtle identity changes can be seen in the assertion that the participants do not let identity labels such as 'coconut' affect them, because they are happy with the choices they have made. One positive aspect of a 'coconut' which can be ascertained from the participants, is that because of the benefits and opportunities English is seen to offer, the fact that they are seen to be able to speak a variety of English which approximates that of a white English MT speaker is valued highly. In the participants' opinion, the fact that they are all still proficient in isiXhosa means that they do not fulfil the (negative) definition of a 'coconut'. Being proficient in both English and isiXhosa is seen as an instrumental tool for gaining access to a variety of different domains, and for creating multiple identities to be used in the said domains. This suggests that the socio-economic benefits, seen as resultant of an education in English as well as the mastery of the English language, outweigh the need for social cohesion with township peers, and is thus perpetuating a cycle of social distance, as discussed in Chapter Two.

❖ Changing practices of bilingualism

Subsequent to changes in identity due to socialisation, speech accommodation, and cultural assimilation, the role of the MT, isiXhosa, is undergoing change too. As discussed in Chapter Four, participants indicated that cultural 'gaps' have formed due to their English school environments. These include behaving in particular ways which would not be allowed in their Xhosa culture, not agreeing with certain cultural traditions (such as circumcision) and forgetting aspects of their language (such as being able to count, or say the months of the year in isiXhosa). The perceived unproblematic nature of these gaps illustrates the value placed on English, as it would appear from this attitude, that English is valued above that of isiXhosa. However, all of the participants in the study are still proficient in isiXhosa, and expressed a desire to remain so. The assertion that isiXhosa is still important due to the cultural heritage and social networks it is symbolic of, and allows access to, is significant when considering identity. The participants in this study clearly still value their MT, and believe it to constitute a very important part of their identity construction. This is supportive of Edwards' (2009) assertion, that while a language may not be maintained for socio-economic gain, it may have a cultural value for the speaker, and form an important aspect of their identity. It also supports the findings of Mesthrie (2008) who suggests that the new black elite in South Africa will continue to show an allegiance to their African MT, as a symbol of one's heritage.

The change in language attitudes, patterns of language use and creation of different identities, makes the term 'mother tongue' problematic. While this study utilises this term to distinguish between language groups, the findings of the research indicate that this term is much more complex

when considering members of the black middle-class, such as the participants in this study. Globalisation has contributed to this complexity. Children of the black middle-class now have two equal languages, which are used to access different domains. The social aspirations of these children are determining their use of language, and their dominance in a particular language, generally English. Due to changes in social class, opportunities for studying and travelling abroad are now a reality for these children, and English is seen as the necessary language for taking advantage of these opportunities. This means that their 'mother tongue' is no longer limited to isiXhosa, but should include both isiXhosa and English. In turn, this has significant effects on the development, maintenance and strategic use of different identities.

The participants in this study remain emphatic about their language use: both languages are needed, and both languages are valued. Descriptions of their language practices highlight how isiXhosa is used in the home and cultural contexts, and creates a feeling of belonging. This is considered important, as it provides a feeling of community and comfort for the participants to rely on, when negotiating a transitional world. English is considered to be of equal importance, as it is through this language that participants gain access to a globalised international world (symbolised in media such as television and the internet), and the opportunities therein. The participants in the study emphasise the empowering nature of being bilingual: due to their linguistic diversity and proficiency, they are able to use their languages interchangeably, dynamically, and strategically in order to gain access to a variety of domains. This supports the findings of Ndlangamandla (2010) and Nongogo's (2007) study. Consequently, identity is no longer seen to be limited to race or language group; rather, through language, the participants are able to take up multiple identity positions that best suit different circumstances and contexts. Furthermore, these multiple identity positions are managed and used with ease, and are considered to be a strategic tool to the speaker, rather than an emotional burden. They are not considered to be a source of an identity crisis (as suggested by De Klerk 2000b).

This discussion highlights how concepts of identity need to be critically evaluated, when being applied to a complex transitional society such as South Africa, where many factors are at stake and societal influences abound. It is further complicated by social class restructuring, and the resultant changes in socialisation practices of the new black elite. In light of this, and parallel to a poststructuralist viewpoint of identity, I argue that the notion of *identity*, as a singular concept, should be seen as limited and outdated in the South African context, in reference to the young middle-class. Instead, it should be accepted in its plural form, and be referred to as *identities*. This

will allow for a more realistic reflection of identity construction of the youth of the black elite today, as multiple, dynamic and strategic.

5.2.2 Accent changes

The discussion of changes in accent will consider the phonetic findings of the GOOSE, TRAP and DRESS vowels, in relation to existing literature.

❖ GOOSE

Literature pertaining to WSAE reviewed in Chapter Two describes the realisation of the GOOSE vowel as [ɘ ~ y:]. In contrast, literature describes the realisation of GOOSE in BSAE as [u > u]. Lass (1995:98) also comments that the higher up the Respectable scale, and the younger the speaker, the fronter the GOOSE vowel will be. Similarly, Da Silva (2008:93) contends that the front and rounded [y:] is especially prestigious among Respectable speakers. When viewing the IPA vowel chart (see Appendix G), it is clear that these descriptions of GOOSE show vast differences, both in terms of vowel height and front/backness.

The findings of this study depict the two English MT speaker groups as one cluster group. This is confirmed by the t-test which indicates no statistically significant difference between these two groups. Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.18 illustrate that the English MT speakers produce a high front GOOSE vowel. While the speakers produce a fronter version of the GOOSEj vowel, which can be described as [y:], to that of the GOOSEc vowel, which can be described as [ɘ:], both vowels can be accounted for and accurately described using existing descriptions of WSAE. The findings of this study support Lass (1995) and Da Silva's (2008) claim that young Respectable female speakers produce a very front GOOSE vowel. The English MT participants produce a significantly fronter GOOSEc and GOOSEj vowel than the isiXhosa MT speakers. Once again, this is supportive of existing descriptions of WSAE.

As can be seen in Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.18, the two isiXhosa MT speaker groups show some variation, and do not form a cluster group like the English MT speakers. The private isiXhosa MT speakers show little variation in their realisation of both the GOOSEc and GOOSEj vowels. Both these vowels can be described as falling within the region of approximately [ɘ:]. This is a significant finding, as it is apparent that these speakers are not producing a vowel similar to that described in literature

pertaining to BSAE. It is clear that these speakers are producing a significantly fronter GOOSE vowel, which is more similar to descriptions of WSAE than those of BSAE.

Unlike the private isiXhosa MT speakers, the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers do show variation between their realisation of the GOOSE_c and GOOSE_j vowels. While the speakers produce a GOOSE vowel which is significantly more back than the private isiXhosa MT speakers, their GOOSE_j vowel is closer in proximity to the private isiXhosa MT speakers than their GOOSE_c vowel. Both the GOOSE_c and GOOSE_j vowels, however, can be described as falling within the region of [ʊ > ɘ]. While not as fronted as their private isiXhosa MT speaker counterparts, this description suggests that the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers are producing a GOOSE vowel which is more fronted than existing literature on traditional BSAE suggests.

The differences between the two isiXhosa MT speaker groups suggest that different levels of speech accommodation have occurred within their English school environments. It is not surprising that the private isiXhosa MT speakers are producing a significantly more fronted GOOSE vowel than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers. The reason for this can be attributed to social networks and school demographics. All of the private isiXhosa MT speakers are boarders at School A. Given the school demographics (student body comprises of 83% white students and 14% black students, see Table 1.1-1.3 Chapter One for more details), the private isiXhosa MT speakers form a minority within their student body. For this reason, isiXhosa is only spoken when the speakers are in a Xhosa-only group. This, according to the participants, occurs rarely, and is generally limited to their Xhosa lessons¹⁴ during school time. Due to the fact that the participants are boarders, they spend more time at school than at home during the year. Consequently, their exposure to English is great, and their use of isiXhosa is restricted. The change in language usage and language dominance in the school setting, and at times the home setting, as acknowledged by some of the participants in the sociolinguistic interviews, has resulted in speech accommodation to a prestigious form of English. This can be seen in how the private isiXhosa MT speakers are producing a GOOSE vowel which is more similar to their English MT peers, than to that described as BSAE in literature, or more broadly, why they do not in fact speak BSAE.

School demographics play a significant role for the model-C speakers as well. Unlike the private isiXhosa MT speakers, the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers form a majority within their student body

¹⁴ Most of the participants take isiXhosa as their 2nd language in the school curriculum. While this class is not limited to black isiXhosa MT students, they do form the vast majority. As with most language classes, the use of isiXhosa is encouraged during lesson time.

(student body comprises of 19% white students and 71% black students, see Table 1.1-1.3 Chapter One for more details). For this reason, exposure to other isiXhosa MT speakers is high. Not all of the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers are boarders at their school. However, it was ascertained during the sociolinguistic interviews that the boarding facilities are used almost exclusively by isiXhosa MT speakers, and that isiXhosa is the dominant language in this context. This means that the model-C isiXhosa speakers in this study either go home (where they will speak isiXhosa and English) at the end of a school day, or they will go to the boarding house, where isiXhosa dominates. This means that exposure to English MT speakers and a prestigious form of English is limited to classroom interactions. This interaction is in itself limited, due to the small number of English MT speakers who attend the school. It is therefore not surprising that speech accommodation to a prestigious GOOSE vowel has not occurred to the same extent to that of the private isiXhosa MT speakers.

❖ TRAP

Literature pertaining to WSAE reviewed in Chapter Two describes the realisation of the TRAP vowel as being a slightly raised [æ] (contended in older descriptions) or as [æ] (in more recent literature). Alternatively, recent literature describes the realisation of TRAP in BSAE as [ɛ ~ æ].

Figure 4.23 illustrates that all speaker groups are significantly different from each other, either in terms of vowel height or front/backness, or both. As can be seen in the t-test results (Table 4.3), the private isiXhosa MT speakers and the two English MT speaker groups do not show any statistically significant difference in terms of vowel height. This is important in itself, as it shows a similarity between the isiXhosa MT speakers and the English MT speakers, which contradicts current descriptions of BSAE.

It is clear from Figure 4.23 that the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers are producing a TRAP vowel in the region of [ɛ ~ æ]. This finding is consistent with the description of BSAE contended by Van Rooy (2004). Interesting, the private isiXhosa MT speakers are producing a lower TRAP, which shows no significant difference in vowel height to the two English MT speaker groups. It would appear, from Figure 4.23, that the TRAP vowel being produced by the private isiXhosa MT speakers is best described as [æ]. This shows that a more prestigious variant of this vowel has been acquired by these speakers, as their pronunciation is more similar to the English MT speakers than the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers.

Once again, it is not surprising that the private isiXhosa MT speakers are producing a TRAP vowel which is more similar to descriptions of WSAE than to that of BSAE. The difference in realisation of TRAP between the two isiXhosa MT groups, as with GOOSE, can be attributed to social networks, language usage and language dominance, and different degrees of speech accommodation due to access to, and contact with, English MT speakers.

Figure 4.23 indicates that the model-C English MT speakers are producing a TRAP vowel in the region of slightly back [æ]. This is consistent with recent literature pertaining to WSAE. The model-C English MT speakers do produce a slightly more back TRAP vowel than the private isiXhosa MT speakers. This may indicate that the private isiXhosa MT speakers are accommodating to a prestigious TRAP variable, but have not yet reached the prestigious variety used by the private English MT speakers. It could also, however, indicate accommodation to a prestigious speech norm, in terms of vowel height, while retaining different front/back features, in order to distinguish themselves from their white English MT peers.

Figure 4.23 as well as the t-test (Table 4.3) indicate that the private English MT speakers produce a significantly backer TRAP vowel than the model-C English speakers. The two speaker groups however, do not differ in terms of vowel height. The TRAP vowel produced by the private English MT speakers can best be described as being in the region of a back [æ] or even moving towards [a]. This supports recent work by Bekker (2008) and Mesthrie (in press), both of whom have identified a recent trend among (post 2000) prestigious white English MT speakers to lower and retract their TRAP vowel. This finding is significant, as it suggests that this change may be taking place in the Eastern Cape, among these speakers.

❖ DRESS

The discussion of the DRESS vowel will consider only the results pertaining to data excluding the outlier, as these results give a more accurate account of the majority of the speakers. Literature describes DRESS in WSAE as [e] and as [ɛ] in BSAE.

The DRESS vowel indicates very interesting results in terms of speech accommodation by the isiXhosa MT speakers. According to current descriptions of DRESS, the isiXhosa MT speakers, should, in theory, produce a lower DRESS vowel than the English MT speakers. As can be seen in Figure 4.30, this is not the case in this study.

The t-test results (Table 4.5) indicate that the two English MT speaker groups are not significantly different in any respects. Figure 4.30 indicates that these two speaker groups are producing a lower DRESS vowel than [e], possibly within the region of [ɛ]. This supports a recent finding of Bekker (2008) and Mesthrie (in press), as cited for TRAP, who identified a trend showing how middle-class white South Africans are undergoing a second chain shift (a reversal of the better known short front vowel raising), in the lowering of the DRESS and the TRAP vowel (as discussed above). This change is especially prevalent, according to Mesthrie, in middle-class young white females.

Figure 4.30 and the t-test results in Table 4.5, show that there are no significant differences between the private English and isiXhosa MT speaker groups. This is a significant find, as it would appear that the isiXhosa MT speakers have the same newly emerging prestigious DRESS variable as the English MT speakers. Pinpointing accommodation is a complex task. To account for this [ɛ] variable, multiple processes of accommodation could be applicable, including:

- a) White speakers adopting [ɛ] from the black speakers
- b) Elite black speakers could have retained [ɛ] as in BSAE (unlikely) while the white speakers could have adopted [ɛ] from new global trends (Mesthrie, in press)
- c) White speakers could have adopted [ɛ] from global trends and their black friends are copying them.

Given that the use of this variable, in terms of the black isiXhosa MT speakers, is limited to School A, I contend that the most likely accommodation process is (c). Option (a) is unlikely, due to the small number of black students at School A. Option (b) is unlikely, as the isiXhosa MT speakers' GOOSE and TRAP vowels indicate vast differences to those described in literature of BSAE, therefore it is unlikely a BSAE norm would have been retained for the DRESS vowel. It is highly likely that global trends have initiated the adoption of the variable [ɛ], and that the elite black isiXhosa MT speakers from School A have accommodated to this new prestigious variable.

The model-C isiXhosa MT speakers are significantly different to the model-C English MT speakers in terms of both vowel height and vowel front/backness. This indicates that unlike the private isiXhosa MT speakers, these speakers have not accommodated to the new DRESS variable, used by their English MT peers. The t-test (Table 4.5) indicates that the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers are significantly different to the private isiXhosa MT speakers in terms of vowel height. The fact that they are not significantly different in terms of vowel front/backness may indicate that speech accommodation is in process. The realisation of this vowel might also indicate that accommodation to the traditionally prestigious white English MT norm was achieved, but due to the recent

movement of the DRESS vowel by middle-class white speakers, this variation is present once again. This variable would have to be investigated in depth before making definite claims. Due to length constraints of this dissertation, this point is not discussed further.

The findings of the DRESS vowel indicate that speech accommodation has taken place among the private isiXhosa MT speakers, as they produce a DRESS vowel which is the same as their English MT speaker peers. The fact that the same extent of this accommodation has not occurred amongst the model-C isiXhosa MT speakers could once again be accounted for by the school demographics, as discussed above.

5.3 Conclusion

Changes in identity and accent are necessary to consider in relation to social class in the South African context. The findings of this study suggest that social mobility is the principal influence bringing about social change, as witnessed in the identity construction and changes in accent of the young black middle-class.

As established in Chapter One, the isiXhosa MT participants in this study are all members of the emerging black middle-class. Due to this socio-economic position, they live in desegregated urban areas, and have attended English crèches or pre-primary schools where mixed friendship groups were established. They have also been able to attend prestigious former white-only English schools. These schools, although different in demographics, share a white/Western ethos. Due to the attendance of these schools, patterns of language use and attitudes to language have changed. This has been heightened by the fact that most of the isiXhosa MT participants in the study are boarders at their schools.

A consequence of attending these prestigious schools has been speech accommodation to a prestigious variety of English used by the white English MT speakers. While this accommodation has occurred in varying degrees between the two schools, the findings of this study provide evidence that accommodation has occurred. It is also clear, from the phonetic findings that speech accommodation occurs more readily in the school environment in which the isiXhosa MT speakers form a minority within the student body, as this restricts the use of isiXhosa, and provides abundant

exposure to white English MT speakers. This is further heightened with a similar composition in the school boarding facilities.

Changes in accent and identity, as a result of attending prestigious English schools, is causing social distance between the participants and their township peers. The dismissal of derogatory labels such as 'coconut', used by the township peers to mock the participants because of their 'Englishness', indicates that the identity of these participants is more complex and fluid than originally deemed in literature. The findings of this study illustrate how the social aspirations, symbolic of different identities, of these young elite are determined in large part by social class. Subsequently, their language choice and use is determined by the social spaces they wish to negotiate and navigate through.

In 2001, Dolby advocated the following (2001:63):

African students are poised at a three-way juncture: an ever-changing traditional culture that exists for many only in the imagination; the urbanisation of modernity; and the global thrust of post modernity.

The findings of this study, both in terms of identity and accent change, suggest this statement is no longer valid in terms of middle-class black South Africans. Due to changes in social class, patterns of language use and language dominance, the acquisition of a prestigious variety of English, and the balancing of multiple identity positions, the young middle-class isiXhosa MT participants in this study have transcended this three-way juncture. Through the strategic use of language, accent and multiple identities, the isiXhosa MT participants need not choose, but can instead negotiate all facets dynamically through the use of both isiXhosa and English.

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University of Cape Town

APPENDIX A: PROFILE OF THE EASTERN CAPE

Statistics and data presented here are sourced from Census 2001, Statistics South Africa.

❖ EASTERN CAPE

General information

- Eastern Cape population: 6436763 people, 14.4% of South Africa's population
- Of the 6436763 people making up the Eastern Cape, black Africans constitute 86% of the population
- For every 100 women in the Eastern Cape, there are 86 men
- 12% of the population of the Eastern Cape is made up of the age group 15-19

Education

Table A.1: Level of education in Eastern Cape

	TOTAL POPULATION (%)	BLACK PEOPLE (%)	WHITE PEOPLE (%)
No schooling	22.8	26.1	1.0
Some primary	19.8	21.5	1.1
Completed primary	7.4	7.6	0.8
Some secondary	29.6	28.3	32.1
Grade 12	14.1	11.5	40.9
Higher	6.3	4.9	24.1

Statistics showed that on average, females ranked higher educationally to males.

❖ CACADU DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY

General information

- There are 75302 people living in the Cacadu municipality district of the Eastern Cape
- 48.9% (190001) of the Cacadu population are isiXhosa speakers
- 5.4% (20842) of the Cacadu population are English speakers

Language profile of Cacadu District Municipality

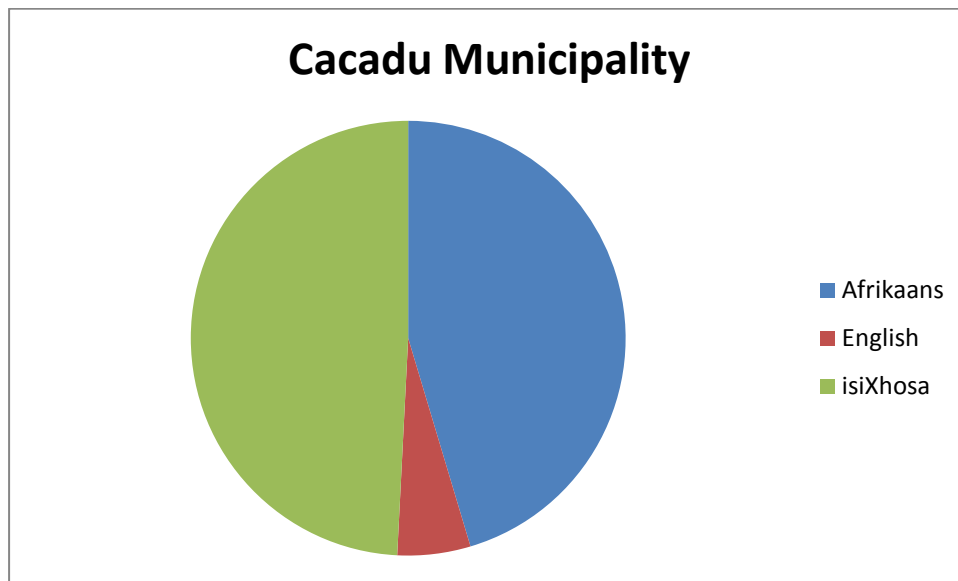


FIGURE A.1: Percentage distribution of home languages¹⁵ in Cacadu Municipality, Eastern Cape, 2001

¹⁵ Languages with less than 0.5% distribution have been excluded from Figure A.1

APPENDIX B: FINANCIAL PROFILE

Chambers (2009) provides indices for determining social class. One such index Chambers identifies is social class distinction by occupation. Table B.1 provides an overview of the different occupations correlating to matching social class, as advocated by Chambers (2009). When this is viewed in relation to the isiXhosa MT participants' parent's occupations, it can be argued that these participants are members of the emerging black middle-class. This is further supported by the fee structure (see Table B.3), which indicates the 'prestigious' nature of these institutions. The ability to afford such high fees (unless on a scholarship) indicates middle-class status.

Table B1: Social class divisions with general occupational correlates

MIDDLE CLASS	UPPER (UMC)	Owners, directors, people with inherited wealth
	MIDDLE (MMC)	Professionals, executive managers
	LOWER (LMC)	Semi-professionals, lower managers
WORKING CLASS	UPPER (UWC)	Clerks, skilled manual workers
	MIDDLE (MWC)	Semi-skilled manual workers
	LOWER (LMC)	Unskilled labourers, seasonal workers

Source: Chambers (2009:42)

Table B.2: IsiXhosa MT participants' parent's occupations

	FATHER	MOTHER
School A	Investment Banker	Vodaworld Manager
	Businessman	Manager of EC rural clinics
	(deceased)	Radiographer
	Investor	Psychologist
	Teacher	Teacher
	(n/a)	Doctor
School B	Advocate	Nurse
	Businessman	Social worker
	Financial advisor	Nurse
	(n/a)	Radiographer
	(n/a)	Teacher
	(n/a)	Business director

Table B.3: Fee structure of schools for 2011

	Annual fee for a day girl	Annual fee for a boarder
School A	R61 530	R122 820
School B	R9 266	R29 026

Source: School Websites

APPENDIX C: HOMETOWN OF PARTICIPANTS

Table C.1: Home-town of black isiXhosa MT participants

SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
East London	Umtata
East London	Umtata
Port Elizabeth/Grahamstown	Umtata
Port Elizabeth/Pedi	Alice
Butterworth	Butterworth
Kingwilliam's Town	Kingwilliam's Town

Table C.2: Home-town of white English MT participants

SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
Port Elizabeth	Grahamstown
Bedford	Grahamstown
Port Elizabeth	Grahamstown
Plettenburg Bay	Riebeeck East
Johannesburg	Port Alfred
Grahamstown	Bedford

APPENDIX D: Interview Schedule A

Xhosa cultural identity within a former model-C state girls' school and an independent girls' school

I am going to ask you a few questions about yourself, your family and about the languages you speak at home and school. Is this okay?

Biographical information

Please tell me about yourself (how old you are, where you were born, where you live, why you moved – if she has, etc)

What is the crime like in the area where you live?

Have you ever experienced crime at first hand? How? (as a victim, observer etc.) Please tell me about it.

Please tell me about your family (describe your parents and what they do, do you have brothers and sisters? How many, what age, where are they and what do they do etc. What about your extended family? - Grandparents etc. Do they live with you?)

Language in your home

What languages are spoken in the area where you live?

Which language is spoken by the majority of people living in the area where you live?

Language in your home

What is your home language? i.e. which language do you use to speak to your parents, siblings and wider family? Does it differ from one to the other? i.e. do you communicate in the same language to all members of your family? If not, why not?

Have you always communicated in this language at home? (i.e. has the language you use at home changed? If so, how and why?)

What language do your parents use when they speak to each other? And when they speak to your grandparents?

What language do you speak to your siblings in? why?

When did you start using /speaking English?

Why did you start using English? Did you choose to use English or were you told to?

How did you feel about learning English?

Do you think that English was forced upon you in any way?

Do you think it is important to learn English? Why do you say this?

Do your parents and/or grandparents mind you speaking English? Do you ever speak English to them?

Language at school

What subjects are you studying at school?

Which is your favorite? Why?

Which languages do you speak at school?

Which language do you use the most? Why do you think this is the case?

Do you speak to some people in Xhosa and others in English?

Are your friends mainly Xhosa or English mother tongue speakers?

Do you find you relate better to Xhosa people, or doesn't your friend's culture matter to you?

If you are speaking to a mixed group of English and Xhosa girls at school, which language would you speak?

When you are with other Xhosa speakers, what language do you use?

How many Xhosa home language speakers are at this school? How many English home language speakers are at your school?

How many staff members at your school are Xhosa home language speakers?

At school, do you find that Xhosa and English speakers (i.e. black and white learners) mix easily? Is there lots of integration?

What language do you think in? Count in? (in your head)?

What language do you use when you are extremely happy, sad or angry?

Language and culture

Is language an important part of Xhosa culture? In what way is it important?

What else is important to your culture?

How do you feel about your Xhosa culture? Does it make you feel proud?

Does your school recognize and affirm your Xhosa culture? Can you give examples of how this is done? How does your school feel about you practicing your Xhosa culture?

Have you ever felt left out or excluded because you are a Xhosa speaker?

Have people ever treated you differently because you are a Xhosa speaker?

Do you think that being in an English school has or will negatively impact your Xhosa culture?

Do you think that being so involved within Western culture at a school like this makes you identify less strongly with your Xhosa roots?

Do you find that when you go home people judge you about the way you speak and behave? (perhaps you might have acquired a 'English accent'?)

Has anyone ever criticized you for being too "English" and not "Xhosa" enough?

What do you think are the major cultural differences between Xhosa and white/Western culture? (besides that of language), eg the way you behave, respect for elders etc

What subjects are you studying at school? Are you doing Xhosa as a 2nd language?

If yes, did you battle studying your mother tongue in a formal manner in the classroom? Why?

Were you pleased when they included this in the syllabus?

Do you think that schools such as this do enough to incorporate African languages in its syllabus?

What would you do differently?

Would you like it if Xhosa was compulsory for all people to study at school? Why?

Do you think it's good that English speaking kids are learning Xhosa at school? Do you have more respect for those that do learn 2nd language Xhosa?

Do you think that it is important for children to have formal training, such as in school, in their mother-tongue? Or do you think that just being able to speak it informally is good enough?

Who chose this school for you? Did you have any say in the matter?

Why didn't you go to a Xhosa-medium school?

Do you think that you need to be competent in your mother-tongue in order to pass on your culture to future generations?

How do you feel about many (*private) school learners who know Xhosa on an informal home-based manner, but don't necessarily know it in a formal sense (engaging with literature etc) and being able to read and write it well? Are you such a person?

Have you ever heard of the term 'coconut'? How do you feel about this label? Do you consider yourself to be one?

Do you think the emphasis being placed on learning English is having a negative effect on the Xhosa culture as a whole?

Do you think that people might be losing their Xhosa culture altogether because of their love of English?

What has been your best school memory/experience so far?

Language in the future

What are your plans for next year?

Do you think Xhosa or English will be more beneficial for your future?

Which language do you think you will speak more when you are older?

Does the context influence this choice? ie will you maybe speak more English in the work place, but more Xhosa for home life?

How do you feel about the maintenance of Xhosa in South Africa?

- Do you think that there is enough of it present in the media, in formal contexts (eg parliament), in schools etc?
- Do you feel strongly about maintaining Xhosa in South Africa? Will you go out of your way to ensure that it remains a strong culture? If so, in what way?
- Will you bring your own children up bilingual? Will it be bilingual from the start, or will you raise them predominantly Xhosa, and then add English in later?
- Will your partner have a say in this?
- If you have a child with someone other than Xhosa, will you insist that the child is raised as a Xhosa, or will at least have some elements of Xhosa in his/her upbringing?

Do you watch any soapies on TV? Which ones do you watch?

Do you consider yourself to be a true bilingual now? ie would you be able to write an essay in either Xhosa or English?

- Which language would you feel more confident writing in? Why? Does this worry you?

Do you think it has been a personal benefit being bilingual? If so why?

Did you ever struggle growing up learning and speaking two different languages?

What do you think is the general public perception of Xhosa culture and Xhosa people in general?

- Does this attitude worry you?

If you were to give a speech in public, would you prefer to do it in Xhosa or English?

Do you read English or Xhosa novels for fun?

- Explain choice?
- Does it concern you that there are not many Xhosa books on offer? Would you like to see an increase in Xhosa literature in the future?

Do you listen to English or Xhosa music?

Do you think that Xhosa is at risk of dying out in South Africa? (that maybe all people will just speak English one day?)

Are you aware that there have been name changes of cities in South Africa? Eg Polokwane. How do you feel about these changes? Is it good to remember the more African roots, or do you think that the government is wasting time and money making the changes?

Do you have any other comments or thoughts to add in relation to this topic? Any personal experiences (good or bad) about being bilingual?

What do you think is the most positive thing about being bilingual?

What do you think is the most negative thing about being bilingual?

University of Cape Town

WORD LIST

kit

sit

bat

beat

dress

cat

nurse

butter

foot

goose

pot

hall

strut

park

fair

price

bake

poor

mouth

broke

toy

fire

braai

APPENDIX E: Interview Schedule B

White English mother tongue accents in a former model-C state girls' school and an independent girls' school

I am going to ask you a few questions about yourself, your family and about the languages you speak at home and school. Is this okay?

Biographical information:

- Name
- Age
- Place of birth
- Place of residency

Home situation:

- Live with both parents? (parent situation)
- Siblings?
- Grandparents?
- What job do your parents have?
- What languages are spoken in the area where you live?
- What languages are spoken in your home?

School situation:

- How long have you attended this school? Where were you before?
- Where do your siblings go to school?
- Do you have many friends outside of school?
- What subjects are you taking?
- What is your favourite subject?
- Would you say that there are more black or white learners in your school?
- How do you feel about the racial dynamic- do you feel that there are too many or too few black learners? Do the different cultures get on at school, ie is school well integrated?

Language:

- How many languages can you speak?
- Where did you learn them?
- Why did you learn them?
- Do you think it is important for people to be able to speak more than one language?
- Why did you choose your 2nd language (Xhosa or Afrikaans?)
- How would you feel if they made an African language compulsory?

- Do you think that it is important for all non-English mother-tongue speakers to learn English? Why?
- Does it irritate you when a group of non-English MT speakers speak to each other in a different language to that of English?
- Have you ever heard of the word 'coconut'? What do you understand by this term? (what does it mean to you). Is it a bad term? Do you think there are 'coconuts' at your school?
- How do you feel about the names changes around South Africa of town names etc?

General topics:

- Favourite movie
- Favourite music
- Most embarrassing moment
- Favourite soapie/serie
- Worst thing about school
- Best thing about school
- Outdoor education
- Favourite sport
- Worst moment from junior school
- Have you ever been a victim of crime?
- What do you want to be when you leave school?
- What university do you want to go to?
- What is your favourite holiday destination and why?
- If you could change one thing about your school what would it be and why?
- How do you feel about your school uniform?
- What are the rules regarding going out 'jolling' in school term? How do you feel about these rules?
- When you socialise with boys, which schools are they from? What are they like?
- What is the angriest time you can remember being?
- What was the happiest?
- What is the most irritating thing about your girlfriends?
- Have you been to any school dances? Which ones? What were they like?

WORD LIST

kit

sit

bat

beat

dress

cat

nurse

butter

foot

goose

pot

hall

strut

park

fair

price

bake

poor

mouth

broke

food

toy

fire

braai

APPENDIX F: Interview transcript example

INTERVIEWEE: Sisipo Nkwinti (pseudonym)

INTERVIEWER: Kirstin Wilmot

DATE: Wednesday 24th June 2009

PLACE: School B, Grahamstown

Transcribed by: Kirstin Wilmot, June 2009

1	<i>Ok, I'm just going to ask you a few questions about yourself, your background and your language usage and your culture</i>	00:03
2	Ok	00:07
3	<i>Um, ok, tell me about yourself. Where you're from, how old are you, that sort of thing</i>	00:09
4	Ok, um... ok my name is Sips for Sisipo in whole but people call me Sips, and I am seventeen years old and I am from Kingswilliam's Town	00:14
5	<i>Ok. And your family? Do you have brothers and sisters?</i>	00:26
6	Oh ya, (laughs) I've got um two, no one sister (laughs), and I've got two siblings that's the thing, and I've got one sister and one brother but I've got other like half sisters and brothers	00:27
7	Ok	00:41
8	Ya, quite a lot	00:42
9	<i>And what do your sister and brother do?</i>	00:44
10	My sister at the moment she's in South Korea and she's an English teacher there	00:47
11	Ok	00:53
12	And my brother he's in college and he's doing some IT course type of thing	00:54
13	Ok	01:00
14	Ya	01:01
15	<i>So they're both older than you</i>	01:02
16	Ya I'm the last born, the others twenty eight, which is my sister and then my brother's twenty two	01:04
17	<i>Ok, and what do your parents do?</i>	01:08
18	Ok my mum is a nurse	01:10
19	Ok	01:11
20	And my dad is an advocate	01:12
21	<i>Ok. Cool. Um what's the crime like in King</i>	01:15
22	I beg your pardon?	01:18
23	<i>What's the crime like?</i>	01:19
24	The crime?	01:20
25	<i>Ya, in the area where you live</i>	01:21
26	Oh (laughs) its, you know that's a hard one cause you know when you've lived in a place for a while, you kinda just get used to it you know	01:23
27	ok	01:30
28	So there is crime I mean I do live like in the location type of thing, so bit um, I've hardly come across it but that also goes with the thing about you know how well people know	01:31

	you	
29	Ok	01:44
30	So like my bigger brother which is my half brother he lived there for a while and he was like loads of people were scared of him and stuff so its kind of like people don't really touch me because of that	01:45
31	Ok.	01:56
32	So I can just walk about freely and you know and do my own thing but there is there is a bit of crime	01:57
33	Ok	02:02
34	Ya	02:03
35	<i>Um, and what languages are spoken in the area you live</i>	02:03
36	Um, Xhosa mainly	02:07
37	<i>Mainly</i>	02:09
38	And English	02:09
38	ok	02:10
40	Ya	02:10
41	<i>And in your home?</i>	02:11
42	Um Xhosa and English but mainly Xhosa	02:13
43	Ok	02:15
44	Ya	02:15
45	<i>Do you mix it a little bit with English?</i>	02:16
46	Ya we do like when we having like debates about things	02:18
47	Ok	02:22
48	Ya, but I mean the dominating language is Xhosa	02:23
49	<i>Ok. Um, and do you have grandparents still alive?</i>	02:27
50	Um, no, they both passed away	02:30
51	<i>Ok. And do you find you speak, you mix more English when you speak to your siblings as opposed to your parents?</i>	02:33
52	Yes, more English when I am speaking to my siblings than with my parents	02:39
53	Ok	02:42
54	Ya	02:42
55	<i>Um, ok when did you start speaking English?</i>	02:45
56	Jee...I should think in preprimary really	02:49
57	Ok	02:53
58	Ya when I was maybe round about four five	02:54
59	<i>Ok, did you go to an English preprime?</i>	02:59
60	Um... ya I did it was like mixed well it was kinda owned by Indians but we used English	03:02
61	Ok	03:10
62	Ya we spoke in English	03:10
63	<i>Ok so did you learn English for school</i>	03:11
64	Before school?	03:14
65	<i>No, for school, like because you went to school, is that why you learnt english</i>	03:15
66	Um	03:20
67	<i>Like at school or did you learn it at home before you went</i>	03:21
68	Oh no no I leant it at school but then like you know how parents try to kind of like try and boost you so for a while they were ok like today is Wednesday and Wednesdays are like an English day at home	03:23
69	Ok	03:37
70	And then I could like speak English only and then well you would try and speak English only	03:37
71	Ok	03:41

72	And stuff but then sometimes its really hard cause in Xhosa you get these specific ya I can't find the Xhosa ah the English word for it	03:41
73	But you get these sayings right and its only meaningful if you say it in Xhosa like you will only get it like the whole point why you saying it if you say it in Xhosa so it was difficult but you know as years go by its getting easier	03:50
74	<i>Ok, and um how did you feel about learning English?</i>	04:04
75	I was excited at first... I was really excited like it was like you know different people and you know different languages so that was cool but then like not like English ok learning English is exciting even now but its different now because you know especially like I'm not saying that School B is like a bad school or anything but there's this whole rule about you know you come to an English medium school you are expected to speak English throughout the school hours and that's that's hard but what I don't like about it like there's, they starting to really kinda enforce that whole English thing right that to the extent that lets say they um one of our English teachers and the deputy, Mr Brown , like he, its never happened to me but I've seen it happen to other people and like he'll see you like in the passages talking Xhosa right or some other language and then you'll get punished for it you know, which I I find is a bit ... I don't know, rude more than anything you know and I don't really approve I don't like that, I like the fact that I'm coming to an English school right and they teaching me things and it's a good school but then its kinda like well English doesn't have anything everything you know, there are certain things that you can't find in Xhosa and you can't find in Afrikaans and you won't find in English and especially when you are talking to your friends its you know that level of understanding and it ya so it...	04:07 04:27 04:49 04:59 05:16
76	I don't like that that's the one thing I don't like	05:33
77	<i>So do you think that it like doesn't allow you to express your Xhosa culture?</i>	05:35
78	Not that its not about Xhosa culture because its not that we're talking about anything cultural but its just not being natural	05:39
79	<i>ok</i>	05:47
80	You know, and not yes, in a way not being able to fully express what you're trying to say ya which which, but the one thing that really I think bugs me the most is that they don't enforce they don't enforce it as as much as to someone whose speaking Afrikaans you you know like so its kinda like...	05:48
81	Xhosa is very distinct cause you know its got the clicks and everything so you can tell from when you still far ok they speaking Xhosa, right,	06:08
82	Maybe its because really they don't hear the Afrikaans girls but I just I I hate the fact that its so like fake focused this is an English school and not a Xhosa school that's the example we always get that you know what if you wanted to go to another language you could go to the school in the location I mean there are schools that are strictly Afrikaans out there and its just that there's this hate-tourism around going about like speaking Xhosa so that's the only thing that really kinda irritates me like the whole concept of English	06:16 06:26 06:34
83	<i>Alright. And do you are most of your oh wait, got ahead of myself.</i>	06:46
84	(laughs)	06:52
85	<i>Sorry. Um, do your parents mind you speaking English? And like elders in your community?</i>	06:53
86	Ok my parents they don't mind right but there are certain things I I ok,	07:04
87	This is very weird, my dad right he has this whole thing that if we are around people he would prefer me to speak in Xhosa	07:11
88	<i>Ok</i>	07:20
89	So lets say I'm talking to him when we are in a shop and everything he would prefer me to speak to him in Xhosa but then if and its just me and him you know and you know we we talking about something that we we have to talk about in English then its cool but he really	07:20 07:30

	prefers me to stick to my mother tongue	
90	But like its not like a big issue, my mom doesn't mind she's completely fine with it but I think around elders, even though no one will say anything but its just... in a way seen as disrespect if for example my uncles going to be sitting here and maybe at the rural areas you know and like the people there don't really know how to speak English, so its going to be a bit rude and offensive if my sister and I go on and on and on you know we speaking English and stuff	07:38 07:56 08:01
91	So we try and we it it depends on the environment	08:07
92	ok	08:10
93	Like if we were at home its perfectly normal, its chilled and you can do whatever you want but then its like ya it depends on the people that are there around you	08:10
94	<i>Ok. And at school now, what languages do you speak?</i>	08:19
95	At school?	08:22
96	Ya	08:23
97	Well we speak Xhosa and English	08:24
98	Ok	08:25
99	Ya	08:26
100	<i>Um...so and in the boarding house?</i>	08:27
101	Boarding house mainly Xhosa	08:29
102	Ok	08:31
103	Ya, its Xhosa actually	08:31
104	I mean there are those things, I'm not saying that when I'm with friends I completely go into like Xhosa zone	08:32
105	Ok	08:37
106	I mean there are those things where we times when we do speak in English but its just its it's a mixture you know....you'll say a sentence and ya it will contain both English and Xhosa	08:38
107	<i>Ok. Um...and do you find, are your friends mainly Xhosa speakers?</i>	08:50
108	Yes, majority of them	08:54
109	<i>Ok. Do you find you relate better to people of the same sort of culture to yourself?</i>	08:56
110	I do, ya. I do because like it's a lot of... you know sometimes when we talk about things and its like you know the whole ok its this whole topic this boyfriend thing right	09:00
111	Ok	09:14
112	I find that like with white families boyfriends are so like chilled its like part of the fam its normal you know you can go like hey mom I'm going out with him you know we going somewhere, and its like oh ok then bye	09:14
113	But with us its kinda like no, you don't do that you know, the only time you introduce your boyfriend like if you can just like get to your house be like ok mom dad this is my boyfriend, is when he's like going to marry you and they're discussing the whole labola thing	09:26 09:36
114	ok	09:42
115	That's the time when you can be expected to be ok like I've got a boyfriend now soon to be husband	09:42
116	so this whole thing when you're a teenager and you're going to your boyfriends house for a weekend no it it doesn't happen	09:46
117	so that's why I say that I kinda relate relate better to my Xhosa friends	09:51
118	ok	09:56
119	Things when we talk about like home situations and stuff ya	09:57
120	<i>Ok, and do you find that the different cultures mix on campus or at school?</i>	10:01
121	At school?	10:05

122	Ya	10:05
123	Ok...weirdly enough no we we don't have a problem with each other like the blacks, coloureds and the whites then theres no beefing between us you know we all mix well but just ahh one thing I've noticed which is very weird like during break time you still get very much like the black crew, the white crew, the coloured crew	10:08 10:18
124	So bit its not that if someone coloured were to come and sit with us it would like what you know , it wouldn't be anything strange but it just I don't know it just there's this separation it just automatically happens	10:27 10:36
125	(Ok)	10:36
126	But not that we have anything against each other	10:39
127	Ok	10:41
128	Ya	10:42
129	Um... what language do you think in or count in in your head?	10:43
130	In my head... when I'm counting... English	10:51
131	English...and when you think?	10:55
132	Ah, it depends	10:57
133	Ok	10:59
134	It it ya it I'd say English and Xhosa	10:59
135	Does it depend on where you are?	11:01
136	No not at all	11:04
137	So its just whatever pops into your head	11:05
138	Ya its like I could be like sitting there during an English exam and I don't know what the question is I will be thinking 'oh Thixo wam thinanlendo(?)	11:07
139	(laughs) you know (laughs) that's in Xhosa you know and visa versa like I'll be sitting there doing something in Xhosa and be like 'what the hell do they want here?'	11:15
140	(laughs)	11:23
141	You know its like it just happens wherever	11:23
142	Ok...um..	11:26
143	But my counting is in English definitely	11:27
144	English, ok... and when you are extremely happy, sad or angry?	11:29
145	Oo Xhosa	11:34
146	Xhosa	11:35
147	(laughs) its more deep and more ya...	11:36
148	Expressive?	11:41
149	Yes (laughs)	11:41
150	Ok um, do you find that language is an important part of Xhosa culture?	11:44
151	Like the language Xhosa	11:49
152	Ya like	11:51
153	Yes I do	11:52
154	Why?	11:54
155	Well it is the main source of communication but like ya... why do I think that...hmm...I don't know why I do but I just feel its important cause ya we have all the rituals to go with it but you kinda need the someone to explain them	11:56 12:12
156	(Ok)	12:15
157	So that's where the language comes into it	12:16
158	So do you think you need to know your language fairly well to be able to pass your culture on to future generations	12:18
159	I do think so yes	12:25
160	Ok... um... have you ever felt left out or excluded because you are a Xhosa speaker?	12:29
161	(pause) not because I am a Xhosa speaker but it would be because I'm black	12:35

162	<i>Ok, so its more of a race thing than a language thing?</i>	12:42
163	Mmm	12:44
164	<i>Ok, um, do you think that being in an English school has negatively impacted your Xhosa culture?</i>	12:44
165	No... with like me personally maybe um in general cause what like for example my cousins what I've seen with them its like ok now its all of sudden its not cool to go to the rural areas cause you know they don't have water there and stuff like that you know they're so used to the Western like way of life	12:53 13:08
166	But with me personally I it hasn't changed anything with me	13:13
167	<i>Ok um, and do you find that when you go home that people judge the way that you speak...as being like too English?</i>	13:20
168	Ya, some of them	13:28
169	<i>Ok, and does that worry you?</i>	13:31
170	No. no not at all, ya	13:32
171	<i>Ok</i>	13:34
172	It doesn't cause its like you know why you eh... it doesn't bug me because I know that its exactly the same thing with Xhosa, I've also adva advanced in Xhosa cause I didn't take Xhosa as a subject before I came here	13:35 13:47
173	<i>Ok</i>	13:49
174	So I know that both ways I've improved so that that's why it doesn't bug me	13:50
175	<i>Ok</i>	13:54
176	But as besides that I'm one of those people who just if you don't know me and you're saying something about me its like oh whatever I really don't give a damn	13:55
177	So...ya...	14:04
178	<i>Ok, um... did I ask you what subjects you are doing?</i>	14:08
179	No (shakes her head)	14:11
180	<i>Ah, I get so confused with having done so many of these</i>	14:13
181	(laughs)	14:13
182	<i>What subjects are you doing?</i>	14:15
183	Like all of them?	14:17
184	<i>Ya</i>	14:17
185	Ok I do life orientation (laughs) and ok maths, and English and then I take Xhosa, and drama and life sciences and consumer studies	14:18
186	<i>Ok and you say you only just started doing Xhosa at senior school?</i>	14:33
187	Ya well it was in primary it was yes, it was part of your like it was one of the compulsory things but it wasn't Xhosa in the sense that you get taught like the language part of it, it was just you know spelling tests	14:37 14:49
188	<i>Ok</i>	14:50
189	It wasn't anything really new, ya	14:50
190	<i>Um, and did you battle with it like in senior school, here at School B when (unclear)</i>	14:52
191	In the first year which was in grade ten	14:57
192	<i>Ok</i>	15:00
193	I I did battle but after now it's a breeze	15:01
194	<i>Ok</i>	15:04
195	<i>Ya</i>	15:04
196	<i>And do you think it would be nice for it to be a compulsory subject at school?</i>	15:05
197	Xhosa?	15:10
198	<i>Ya</i>	15:11
199	(pause) um... ah ah ahhh... hmmm... (sigh)... now that's a hard one	15:12
200	<i>Why?</i>	15:19

201	Cause you know you have to think about other people as well you know..um.. no I think its fine the fact that you have a choice	15:20
202	<i>Ok</i>	15:30
203	<i>ya</i>	15:31
204	<i>And do you have more respect for people um whose Xhosa is not their mother tongue to actively do it at school? Like to chose to do it? Do you have more respect for those people?</i>	15:32
205	mmm.... No	15:45
206	<i>Not?</i>	15:47
207	It's as though I don't have any respect for them but	15:48
208	Its kinda like...ok you chose Xhosa, well you were interested in it I guess	15:50
209	Ah ah I'm not one of those you know...	15:55
210	I I I like people who do something because they want to not because they want to make some statement you know	15:58
211	<i>ok</i>	16:05
212	Ah I wouldn't like you to you know have Xhosa friends as a white person or as a white girl at school just because you want to make you know you want to portray this thing about I'm not racist and I think you know black people are equal	16:05 16:15
213	You have Xhosa friends because you like the person as a person not because you like them because they're Xhosa	16:20
214	<i>ok</i>	16:24
215	You know	16:24
216	<i>Ya</i>	16:25
217	I I'm one of those people so it wouldn't it wouldn't make you more of a person to me it wouldn't make you less of a person to me	16:25
218	<i>Ok</i>	16:30
219	<i>Ya</i>	16:31
220	<i>Um, and what do you think are the major cultural differences between Xhosa culture and like Western/English sort of culture?</i>	16:32
221	Ok, the whole thing between the younger and the elderly people ya	16:39
222	And... ok how you speak to the elderly you know and um...	16:48
223	You like behave ya the main thing it all revolves about the young and the old but things like behavior wise you know, there's a certain way with like the black culture, Xhosa people, there's a certain you're expected to behave in this way when you are around certain people	16:59 17:10
224	And then in this way when you are around your friends you know, so and um	17:16
225	Communication, ya, like when I'm, well with me its chilled cause you know I say whatever in front of my parents, obviously I don't swear or anything but its like you know it will be like ya ya that's chilled, my mom will get what I'm trying to say	17:22 17:31
226	<i>Ok</i>	17:34
227	But back in the days in some families you can't be like ya mom that's chilled you know	17:35
228	you have to use proper language, proper English or proper Xhosa and stuff so ya I'd say the main thing is the whole relationship between the elderly and the younger	17:40
229	<i>Ok</i>	17:52
230	That's the main difference	17:52
231	<i>Do you find it easy to adapt in like an English environment? Here, with like those issues?</i>	17:54
232	Um... I I	18:02
233	Sometimes I'm not comfortable with it	18:06
234	<i>Ok</i>	18:08
235	Because , you know, for example, I could never sit with someone's mom lets say I I have	18:09

	this white friend and I could never just sit there with her and you know discuss my sex life for example if I had one you know (laughs)	18:21
236	Ya... I've not been raised up to do that so its not easy like its not easy for me you know sometimes with with white people I find that you know if a guy is named John then its John it doesn't matter if he's fifty or sixty he's John you know	18:26 18:39
237	Ok	18:43
238	But with us you can't I can't call my uncle by his name unless he's like really young or he that's perfectly with him but if it's the first time I'm meeting him you know I'd call him uncle so and so, you get me	18:44 18:55
239	Ya	18:56
240	So that's the other thing that you know I battle with a bit	18:57
241	<i>Like the respect</i>	19:00
242	ya	19:01
243	Ok	19:02
244	I just feel that I just have to even though the person is like no its chilled you know you can call me John	19:02
245	Ya	19:06
246	But its like ok then I'll try but I'll hear myself once in while I'll be like ok uncle John or something ya (unclear)	19:06
247	<i>Ok, um do you think that a school like this should incorporate more African languages, should they offer more African languages in the school syllabus or do you think its fine just having Xhosa and Afrikaans?</i>	19:16 19:28
248	I think they should have maybe Zulu and Sotho as well	19:31
249	Ok	19:34
250	Which they will cause those are also like for example I've got friends that are Zulu... there are Xhosa ok its like they they their orig like they they Zulu right but then maybe they've lived in Grahamstown all their life so they've kinda adapted to the Xhosa way of life	19:35 20:46
251 252	So I do think that its only fair that they also get a chance to be able to express themselves in their language	20:53
253	but not the whole like the other ones Ndebele and so and so but I think Xhosa I mean Zulu and Sotho are also really there	20:58
254	Ok	20:08
255	Ya	20:09
256	<i>Um, and do you think it's important that Xhosa mother-tongue learners do have training in school or do you think its fine just to learn it in your home and just to be able to speak it? Or do you think that you should be like learning to read it and write it properly and all of that? Like you learn in a classroom?</i>	20:10 20:25
257	Ya I do think that it's important that they learn it properly at school	20:31
258	<i>And who chose this school for you?</i>	20:36
259	(laughs) it was... ok it wasn't really a matter of choice you see cause	20:41
260	ok I came here half way during the year in May cause I come from England so it was like whatever school was available	20:48
261	Oh ok	20:57
262	It was like one of those kinds of things but I mean my dad eh my sister chose it for me	20:57
263	Ok	21:01
264	ya	21:01
265	<i>And um, why an English medium school and not a Xhosa medium school?</i>	21:04
266	Oh because the level of education is higher	21:10
267	Ok	21:14
268	And I mean the fact is you know English is the like main language of communication	21:14

	throughout the world	
269	So ya its all good to be proud of where you're from and you know bit the reality is that we I don't live in that kind of world cause when I'm done with my matric I'm not going to go back into the rural areas and then like you know just stay around there and do nothing all day	21:23 21:34
270	I'm going to go out there into the world I'm going to go to varsity and then after that I'm going to work, and when I'm I am in a work situation and I'm going to be with different people so I do need that foundation of English basically and ya so and you know they just	21:40 21:49
271	I think with schools like these eh in in Xhosa schools its more like ok that whole idea of the teacher's the educated one, she's right and ya basically she gives you something and you do it	22:00
272	I think with English medium schools, you you taught more to be critical and you know and to look at things from an objective point of view you know so ya that's what ya it's a good choice to be in an English medium school	22:12 22:24
273	(ok)	22:28
274	Um, have you ever heard of the term 'coconut'?	22:29
275	Mmm hmmm	22:37
276	and how do you feel about that term?	22:38
277	I was once called one... (laughs)	22:41
278	um...sometimes I re I must say it does exist the whole coconut thing	22:45
279	Ok	22:54
280	But I think people just this whole you pre judge someone you know just because I've got English now all of a sudden they think that I'm some white-wannabe you know	22:55
281	ok	23:07
282	So, I mean there are both sides to it	23:07
283	I feel nothing towards it anymore I mean like I've said I've grown so now a stranger can't come to me and be like oh now you're a coconut, I won't get offended by that cause I know who I am so it doesn't bug me what he thinks of me right	23:12 23:24
284	Ok	23:26
285	Because at the end of the day this person, what are they going to do for me in life, they don't know me... if I die today they don't care you know cause I don't exist in their lives then why should what they think and their opinions have such a great impact on me	23:27 23:37
286	So I feel nothing towards it anymore	23:41
287	Ok	23:44
288	Ya, but it does exist I must say	23:45
289	Ok and like it's a negative	23:48
290	It's a ya it I I think it's a negative thing cause I mean if you black you meant to be black and if you white you meant to be white	23:50
291	Um, and do you think that this whole emphasis being placed on learning English is having a negative effect on Xhosa culture? Like do you think people are forgetting their culture?	23:58
292	Ya in general there people it does affect them because now, what especially if you live in hostel, I think	24:10
293	Because you now, now what happens is that like I I'll be a hostelite right and I'm taught what I what I'm taught at school and then in hostel, also to create that same environment you're kinda urged to kinda you know have that school environment going on at hostel as well	24:19 24:30
294	(Ok)	24:35
295	So I now stay here for for two months without seeing my parents you know without going home... then I'm going to go home for a short holiday where all of a sudden now ok I have to get back into the whole swing of things of you know Xhosa now and you know you	24:37 24:45

	know there's none of this be critical thing your parent says this you do it you know	
296	<i>Ok</i>	24:56
297	So I do think that on some field on (unclear) with a person that I don't know is not strong on what they kinda want in life and what they really believe in I think it would affect them	24:57
298	<i>Ok</i>	25:07
299	Ya	25:07
300	<i>But do you feel strongly enough about your culture not to</i>	25:08
301	(yes) no ya it doesn't effect my I mean it does make me, there are certain things now in my culture that when I look at them I'm like ok... maybe that's a bit shady...	25:11
302	But not because you know... I don't look at it because now all of a sudden I know English you know	25:22
303	<i>Ok</i>	25:29
304	But I look at it in a way that ok ok now I'm old enough to understand actually what this thing is about and as a personal, as a person whether I be a black, white Indian or whatever this is the feeling that generally you know is there about it... ya	25:29 25:40
305	But I mean its not one of those things where its like ok now I know the English way, I'm going to take that route	25:47
306	<i>Ok... what has been your best school memory so far, or your best school experience?</i>	25:55
307	Like what happened in school?	26:03
308	<i>Ya or just a memory that you are always going to remember about school</i>	26:05
309	(laughs) um... a memory that I will always remember at school...hmmmm...	26:09
310	I've got loads...	26:21
311	The thing is ok the main thing the main does it have to be school only not hostel?	26:24
312	<i>(No) no anything</i>	26:27
313	Oh no it was like hostel (unclear) last year (laughs) it was so funny (laughs) um um cause at BH which is the house like the grade eleven, grade ten, eleven and twelve hostel	26:29
314	<i>Ok</i>	26:41
315	We had this matron basically and she was quite old last year , so she you know she (unclear) (laughing)... just got you know get stuff mixed up	26:42
316	<i>Ok</i>	26:53
317	So I remember this time and I was liv living in for a term in a dormitory and it was called Haven but then we used to call it heaven cause it was where we had like fun and everything and stuff	26:54 27:04
318	And I remember at the beginning of that term I was mixed up with people I didn't know like ok we've never really had to say much to each other so we were a bit like not sure how about its going to work out and stuff	27:06 27:14
319	But then it ended up being like the best term ever in all my school years	27:16
320	So I remember this time she came in the morning and breakfast clearly was written on the sign that breakfast will be at half past seven cause we were writing exams	27:20
321	And so she walks in at like seven and my other friend is like half naked cause she's getting dressed and (laughs) she just opens the door (laughs) and shouts 'you're all got (unclear)' and everyone was like what and some people have just woken up and you know it was a mess (laughs) so I that was really funny so ya that's one of the memorable times	27:29 27:39
322	<i>(laughs) ok</i>	27:46
323	Ya	27:49
324	<i>Oh cool... um, and what are your plans for next year?</i>	27:50
325	Next year...hmm... well, I want to end up in varsity somewhere	27:54
326	<i>Ok</i>	28:02
327	Preferably Cape Town, UWC, um... another option is Pretoria	28:02
328	<i>Ok</i>	28:09

329	So between the two	28:10
330	<i>And do you know what you want to do</i>	28:11
331	Mmmhmmm, well I want to become a plate(?) therapist	28:12
332	<i>Ok</i>	28:15
333	But then apparently first I have to do like a psychology degree and stuff so that's what I'm going to be doing	28:15
334	<i>Ok cool</i>	28:21
335	Psychology (whispers)	28:22
336	<i>And do you think English or Xhosa will be more beneficial for your future?</i>	28:24
337	I would say...oooh... can you please repeat the question? (laughs)	28:33
338	<i>Sure, do you think that Xhosa or English will be more beneficial to your future?</i>	28:41
339	For my future...	28:46
340	<i>Yes, so which do you see yourself using more of?</i>	28:47
341	More... because of the the fact that I'm going to have to be dealing with people of all different races and stuff like that I think that English will be more beneficial right	28:49
342	<i>Ok</i>	29:03
343	But at the same time... I feel like I feel what's happening with this generation with Xhosa people like the teens are getting too like sucked up by you know the Western life you know you know cause I find some people they find it so offensive you know like often I've come across people and it was really surprising me like in I think it was in grade ten	29:04 29:19
344	And some famous DJ guy singing person was here in Grahamstown and his car was parked like here like right by the school and so all the girls basically wanted to go and say hi and everything and I remember like one of them was like ya remember now like speak proper English you know English only	29:31 29:42
345	And I remember thinking what because the guy he's Xhosa he's black and it was like ok it its sort of like now ok why you impressing me here with your English and stuff you know so yes when it comes like work wise I do think that English is going to be more beneficial for me because of the situations that I'm going be in	29:49 30:01
346	But in general I think a bit of both will help me along the way	30:11
347	<i>And do you think you will use predominantly Xhosa in the home?</i>	30:16
348	In the home, yes, I think I would ya	30:19
349	<i>And will you bring up your children as Xhosa speakers?</i>	30:22
350	At home, yes , Xhosa speakers	30:28
351	<i>Even if you marry someone of a different culture?</i>	30:30
352	Ooo, see I've never thought about that (laughs)	30:33
353	Well I mean its not going to be fair for example if I were to marry a white guy it won't be fair if I'm on this dip that you know what I'll kid will be like Xhosa you know and they will speak Xhosa all the time but I'll try to explain explain it to him in this way that ok half of your deal is kinda like already fixed because we're going to get I'm going send my children to the best schools that I can	30:37 30:46 30:58
354	And they will be taught in English and stuff so I think it would be only fair to say that you know at least when they home they can try and speak Xhosa obviously it will difi difficult for them and stuff but you know I I do want them to know you know the the my side of my culture	31:00 31:09
355	<i>(ok)</i>	31:17
356	And everything else so I ya I'll try to enforce Xhosa at home	31:20
357	<i>Ok cool. And how do you feel about the maintenance of Xhosa in South Africa?</i>	31:24
358	What do you mean?	31:31
359	<i>Like in do you think there is enough of it in the media like on TV and stuff, do they speak enough of it in parliament or do you think its just too English?</i>	31:32

360	Umm...	31:43
361	On TV... the th you know that's why I'm saying that...	31:46
362	Ok English, it is too English right but at the same time its its that's not something bad because you can't it for example the media, lets say a TV show, a TV show is something that's there to entertain everyone you know so if you wanted to have this this sophisticated Xhosa TV thing then you would be on a specific like on a Xhosa channel like on radio you get Umhlobowenene which is like Xho, like radio Xhosa basically	31:53 32:00 32:12
363	Ok	32:21
364	Where they do if they do play English songs then they do have a bit of English but as a white person you wouldn't be able who doesn't know Xhosa, you wouldn't be able to like sit for thirty minutes listening to that show because you'd be like ok what's going on	32:21 32:30
365	Ok	32:33
366	so there I think that they should involve more things like that maybe have like specific Xhosa programs or certain channels maybe there will be something like a Xhosa slot from five to six or something like that	32:33 32:45
367	Ok	32:48
368	But ya but I think its fair that it there's too English cause then at least you know that in that way your message gets to everyone	32:49
369	Ok	32:55
370	ya	32:56
371	<i>So do you think that there is still a good amount of Xhosa for people to be able to hear it and think well if that's on TV then it must be important and something to be proud of?</i>	32:57
372	Um...they could have a bit more	33:08
373	ok	33:10
374	But its not like ok there's nothing there completely ya	33:10
375	<i>Um, then... do you watch any soapies?</i>	33:14
376	Mmhmm	33:19
377	<i>Which ones do you watch?</i>	33:19
378	I watch Generations and eh Isidingo and then a bit of Days and the Bold here and there	33:21
379	(Ok)	33:32
380	And...what's that thing eh on E... Rhythm City	33:32
381	<i>Ok...and if I gave you an essay topic now would you prefer to write it in English or Xhosa?</i>	33:39
382	It depends on the topic	33:46
383	<i>How do you mean? Like what kind</i>	33:48
384	For example if you ask me to write something on culture I'd prefer to write it in Xhosa	33:50
385	Ok	33:57
386	If you ask me to write something on about politics I would prefer to write it in English	33:57
387	Ok	34:01
388	So it depends on ya the topic	34:01
389	<i>Ok, and a speech?</i>	34:06
390	Speech?	34:09
391	<i>If you had to give a speech to a</i>	34:10
392	(an audience)	34:12
393	Ya	34:14
394	Ooo... (sigh)...hmmm... that is tricky	34:15
395	I'd say... I'd say it in... (laughs)	34:25
396	Ok I'd say it probably in English...yes, in English	34:35
397	<i>Ok, but it's a tough decision to make?</i>	34:46
398	It is because its like, essentially I would prefer to give it to them in Xhosa but the fact is because basically all my life I've been in an English medium school and for a year and	34:48

	something I was living in England which was like, I hardly ever spoke Xhosa cause my mom was hardly home she was working	35:04
399	So I'd go on for a good week without touching a word of Xhosa except for saying something to my self or when thinking	35:11
400	Ok	35:18
401	You know and my fa my friends were all white cause there were no Xhosa people around , so its sometimes like I said... with Xho with Eng with Xhosa I I sometimes I wouldn't be able to find ok the not the right word but I don't know I would probably slip up and say something in English	35:18 35:31
402	I'm more likely to do that when I'm speaking Xhosa then when to do that when I'm speaking English	35:41
403	Ok	35:45
404	ya	35:46
405	<i>Um, and do you think its been a personal benefit growing up speaking two different languages throughout your life?</i>	35:48
406	yes	35:54
407	Why?	35:55
408	Cause then... why?	35:56
409	Cause then, ok generally it means that I can communicate with more people which which is like a great benefit for me because I like love talking	36:01
410	(laughs)	36:09
411	Ya (laughs) and then also because I don't know because it makes you especially when you go to a country like England where most people just know one language and then it just means you seem smarter	36:09 36:18
412	Ok	36:21
413	And everyone is so fascinated by it and I like Xhosa because Xhosa's so, I it fascinates me, like see now I want to give you the Xhosa word	36:21
414	(laughs)	36:30
415	For this thing, its so.... Ya...its its deep not deep as in its got a deep meaning but its deeper than like its bold and its... hard...and ya...	36:30
416	(laughs)	36:48
417	Ya and it is a benefit ya you communicate better when you know two languages and you can always skip from one language to the next so for example if I'm saying eh speaking to someone who understands both Xhosa and English so it's a benefit if I don't know the English word for something then I can say it in Xhosa	36:48 36:58
418	Ok	37:03
419	And then they will understand it and visa versa	37:04
420	<i>And have you ever struggled growing up learning and speaking two different languages?</i>	37:06
421	Well when I was like first stages of learning English I did struggle with it	37:11
422	Ok	37:17
423	but after that like by the time I was in grade one it was really like something that's there and its in my system	37:17
424	Ok... <i>and what do you think is the general public perception of Xhosa people?</i>	37:25
425	Wooo they loud	37:34
426	(laughs)	37:36
427	But that's true I must say... they ok, that they loud people have this...	37:37
428	This this thing...well people that I've come across... its like in a way Xhosa people or let me just say black South African in general they just its its this idea of ok it has to be proven twice if its something said or done by a Xhosa woman or man or whatever or a black man or woman	37:47 38:04

429	Ya there's this whole like even with us its kinda like... ok how can I put this... you know technology technology is something to know to become like the white man came up with the technology	38:12 38:25
430	So now if they say there was thing something new basically and it was heard that a black Xhosa guy had invented it I mean I would also be like ok I still need to test that first	38:26
431	<i>Oh</i>	38:38
432	You know but its like if you are some Doctor George or something something like that you know you heard of that you'd be like ok cool	38:39
433	<i>Ok</i>	38:49
434	You know so I think there's that whole thing that ok they not as intelligent, black people, and they they the main crime causes in South Africa, which is true and ya its like majority is like negative things	38:49 39:04
435	<i>ok</i>	39:07
436	I would say that are perceived by	39:07
437	<i>And does that worry you?</i>	39:10
438	Me? You know...ya I'm very unique... not much bothers me	39:12
439	<i>Ok</i>	39:18
440	You see like ya you'll say something about my culture right and I will get offended and I will defend my culture obviously if it is worth defending	39:19
441	<i>Ya</i>	39:27
442	But a general statement is a general statement, they not talking about me they know nothing about me so they can't ya you know people will say you know since you're black you're probably like this and this and that and if they don't want to and I say maybe no its not actually like that if they don't want to believe me then ok then fine but I know myself	39:28 39:40 39:48
443	<i>ok</i>	39:49
	I know where I'm from I know how my house my home is and what happens there so you know saying things about me or to me you know it doesn't bother me that much	39:49
444	<i>So its just their bad because they don't know better</i>	40:02
445	Ya, its like oh well shame for you	40:04
446	<i>Ya, ok...and um do you read books for fun</i>	40:07
447	No... I don't like books	40:11
448	<i>ok</i>	40:13
449	I'm not a book worm at all I must say	40:14
450	<i>And music? Do you listen to music?</i>	40:17
451	Yes	40:19
452	<i>Do you listen to English or Xhosa music?</i>	40:19
453	Both	40:22
454	<i>Ok, does that depend where you are or just what you feel like?</i>	40:23
455	It its like...um...ya it its ya it just depends what I feel like	40:27
456	<i>Ok</i>	40:35
457	<i>Ya</i>	40:35
458	<i>So you don't find that you listen to more English music at school whereas more Xhosa music at home</i>	40:36
459	Oh no no no	40:40
460	<i>Ok</i>	40:42
461	It just depends ya like whatever	40:43
462	<i>Ok cool...and do you think that Xhosa is at risk of dying out completely in South Africa?</i>	40:48
463	Yes, I do... a bit... well not dying out completely but there is that whole thing about ok it is running out a bit	40:57

464	<i>Ok and does that worry you?</i>	41:10
465	Hmm... I mean for other people it does you know its like ok then its really sad to see a Xhosa girl and then them being raised up and then they don't know any Xhosa you know I think that's really sad	41:13 41:21
466	But with me personally I know how I want things to run in my house one day so it won't it wo it will be harder to enforce it on my children because of the times and television and stuff but you know I I (unclear) it will be something that will be part of ther their lives	41:27 41:40
467	<i>So its basically your personal choice then its up to you</i>	41:46
468	Ya	41:49
469	<i>Ok and then how do you feel about the name changes of like towns and cities in South Africa?</i>	41:51
470	Oh...ah that irritates me cause I just feel that its such a waste of first of all its just generally a waste of money because... like name changes into English	41:55
471	<i>Oh no no no like um....</i>	42:07
472	Like the whole thing about Grahamstown now they want to	42:10
473	<i>Ya, become eRhini and Pretoria changing to Tswane</i>	42:12
474	I think that's stupid, I mean...ah...	42:15
475	I don't see the point of it you get me ... cause a black person will always whether the name has been changed or not that person will always refer to Grahamstown as eRhini you know	42:19
476	Ya	42:33
477	And Pretoria and the weird thing is that like Pretoria a black person wouldn't say eh eh even before it was changed they wouldn't call it Tswane they would call it Epidoli, you know type of thing	42:33 42:45
478	Ok	42:46
479	So I I don't see the point of it I really don't I just see it as a waste of money that's all	42:47
480	Ok	42:52
481	Ya and its just like really now a hassle for everyone cause I mean how many people can say eRhini you know, I just feel its so unfair you know there's those people who can't say that and ya it's a waste of money... I don't see the point, ya I don't get it ya	42:53 43:03
482	<i>Ok and then last of all can I ask you to read this list of words</i>	43:11
483	Read them out loud	43:16
484	<i>Ya, slowly though</i>	43:17
485	Ok	43:18
486		
487	Kit	43:20
488	Sit	43:22
489	Bat	43:24
490	Beat	43:25
491	dress	43:26
492	Cat	43:27
493	Nurse	43:28
494	Butter	43:29
495	foot	43:30
496	Goose	43:31
497	pot	43:32
498	Hall	43:33
499	Strut	43:34
500	Park	43:35
501	Fair	43:36
502	Price	43:37

503	Bake	43:38
504	Poor	43:38
505	Mouth	43:39
506	Broke	43:40
507	Toy	43:41
508	Fire	43:42
509	braai	43:43

Appendix G: Phonetic key

❖ Wells' Standard Lexical Sets (Wells, 1982:127-166)

KIT – RP /ɪ/

DRESS – RP /e/

TRAP – RP /æ/

LOT – RP /ɒ/

STRUT – RP /ʌ/

FOOT – RP /ʊ/

BATH – RP /ɑː/

CLOTH – RP /ɔ/

NURSE – RP /ɜː/

FLEECE – RP /iː/

FACE – RP /eɪ/

PALM – RP /ɑː/

THOUGHT – RP /ɔː/

GOAT – RP /əʊ/

GOOSE – RP /uː/

PRICE – RP /aɪ/

CHOICE – RP /ɔɪ/

MOUTH – RP /aʊ/

NEAR – RP /ɪə/

SQUARE – RP /ɛə/

START – RP /ɑː/

NORTH – RP /ɔː/

FORCE – RP /ɔː/

CURE – RP /ʊə/

happY – RP /ɪ/

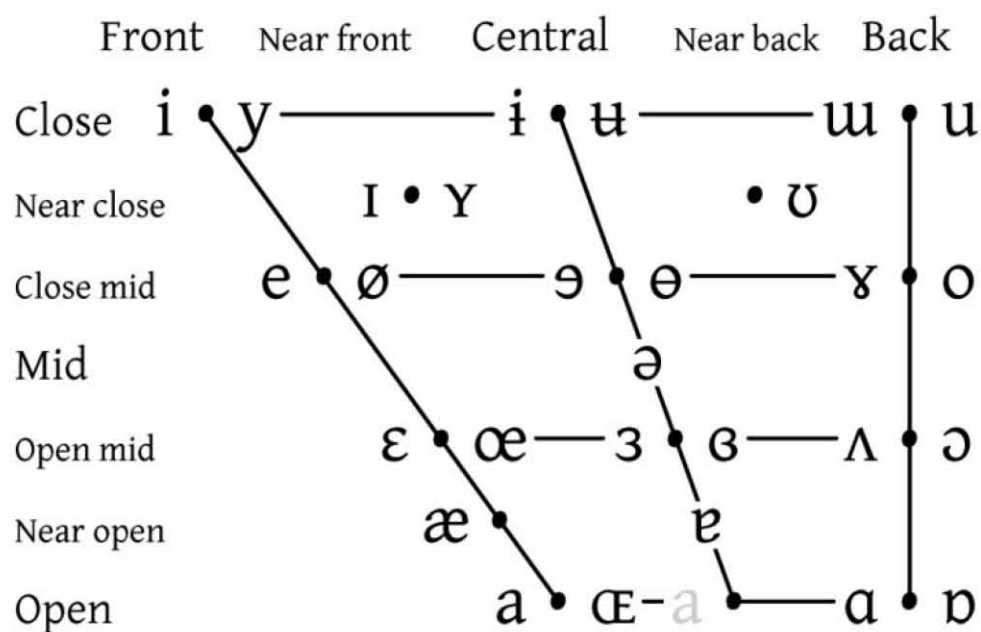
lettER – RP /ər/ or /ə/

commA – RP /ə/ or /ʌ/

❖ International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) Vowel Chart

(accessed via: <http://www.realfuture.org/wordpress/?p=2109>)

VOWELS



Vowels at right & left of bullets are rounded & unrounded.

❖ Summary of key phonetic descriptions

Table G.1: Summary of phonetic descriptions presented in Chapter Two

WSAE				
	LANHAM (1978)	LASS (1995) (Respectable)	BOWERMAN (2004) (General)	DA SILVA (2008) (Respectable)
TRAP	(raised) æ	æ	(raised) æ	æ
DRESS	e	e (often centralised)	e	e
GOOSE	ʊ ~ y	y:	ʊ: (or fronter)	ʊ: ~ y:
BSAE				
	HUNDLEBY (1964)	GOUGH (1996)	VAN ROOY (2004) (Acrolect)	
TRAP	a ~ a:	ɛ	ɛ ~ æ	
DRESS	e ~ ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	
GOOSE	-	u	ʊ > u	

KEY: > = more common than
 ~ = co-varies with